Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-94-033
Thursday
17 February 1994

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-94-033 *17 February 1994*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.
An Ω indicates a Foreign Media Note.

ALBANIA

Serreqi Views Greek Talks, Positions on Bosnia *[Tirana TV]* 1
Journalist Prosecuted for 'Insulting' State *[ALEANCA 15 Feb]* 1

BULGARIA

Zhelev Responds to Demirel on B-H Conflict *[Sofia Radio]* 2
Army Spokesman Downplays Danger of Air Strikes *[BULGARSKA ARMIYA 11 Feb]* 2
Greek Army General Staff Chief Visits *[Sofia Radio]* 2
Military Agreement Signed *[Sofia Radio]* 2
Implications of NATO Balkan Policy Examined *[KONTINENT 14 Feb]* 3

CZECH REPUBLIC

Investigation of 1992 U.S. Presidential Race *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 15 Feb]* 4
NSC Cited on Importance of Central Europe. *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 15 Feb]* 4
Klaus on 'Dissection' of Differences With Havel *[RUDE PRAVO 15 Feb]* 4
National Bank Official: Slovakia Repaid Debt *[LIDOVE NOVINY 9 Feb]* 5
Klaus Addresses Swiss Banks on Transformation *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 10 Feb]* 5

SLOVAKIA

Meciar Discusses Current Political Situation *[REPUBLIKA 7, 8 Feb]* 9
Second Installment of Moravcik's Policy Report *[SLOVENSKY DENNIK 4 Feb]* 12
Ministers Explain Departure From Cabinet Meeting *[Bratislava Radio]* 16
SDL Leader Views Current Political Scene *[Bratislava Radio]* 17
Documents Signed on Ukrainian Construction Work *[Bratislava Radio]* 17

POLAND

U.S. Daily Said To Discredit Poles *[Warsaw TV]* 18
Pawlak, Moldovan Minister Discuss Cooperation *[PAP]* 18
Olechowski Addresses Senate on East Europe Policy *[PAP]* 18
Kolodziejczyk Comments on Polish Security *[POLSKA ZBROJNA 1 Feb]* 19
Sejm Views Implications of Partnership for Peace *[POLSKA ZBROJNA 16 Feb]* 22
Solidarity Says Union Can 'Strike Until Victory' *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 16 Feb]* 23
Solidarity Threatens Strikes *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 17 Feb]* 23
Mutual Employment Agreement Signed With Ukraine *[Warsaw Radio]* 24
Sejm Deputy Swiecicki on Nation's Finances *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 14 Feb]* 24

ROMANIA

Croatia's Tudjman Cites 'Doubts' on Strikes *[Bucharest Radio]* 26
Police Injured in Clashes With Striking Miners *[Bucharest Radio]* 26
Interior Ministry Issues Warning *[Bucharest Radio]* 26
Miners Rally in 'Ready To Go' to Bucharest *[Bucharest Radio]* 27
Trade Union Leader Announces 28 Feb Strike *[EVENIMENTUL ZILEI 14 Feb]* 27
Farmers Union Begins Warning Strike *[Bucharest Radio]* 27
Spokesman Responds to Moldova on Reunification *[Bucharest Radio]* 27

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

UNPROFOR Repeats Ultimatum; Serbs Refuse Demands *[AFP]* 28
Serbs Fail To Appear at Weapons Talks *[AFP]* 28
Krajisnik: No Removal of Heavy Weapons *[TANJUG]* 29
Cot Briefs B-H Army *[Sarajevo Radio]* 29
No 'Green Light' for Air Strikes *[TANJUG]* 29
Srpska Defense Minister Comments *[TANJUG]* 30
Serbs Vow To Defend Themselves *[VECERNJE NOVOSTI 31 Jan]* 30
Serb General Threatens To Take Hostages *[Cologne Radio]* 31
German Aid Worker Kidnapped *[Berlin DDP/ADN]* 31
Commission Confirms 'Single Bomb' Caused Massacre *[AFP]* 31
Serbs 'Very Disappointed' With Report *[TANJUG]* 31
Karadzic, Abdic Sign Cease-Fire Agreement *[TANJUG]* 32
Attacks Continuing *[Sarajevo Radio]* 32
Serbs Accuse Muslims of Cease-Fire Violations *[TANJUG]* 32
Karadzic Suggests B-H Rejoin Yugoslavia *[Sarajevo Radio]* 33
Croats Continue Ethnic Cleansing in Mostar *[Sarajevo Radio]* 33
'Critical' Situation Cited *[Sarajevo Radio]* 33
Zepce Protests Treatment of Muslims *[Sarajevo Radio]* 34
Government Assesses Humanitarian Situation *[Sarajevo Radio]* 34

CROATIA

RSK Asks Serbs Abroad To Prevent Air Strikes *[TANJUG]* 35
Russia's Churkin on Possible Air Strikes *[TANJUG]* 35
Redman Presents U.S. Initiatives to Granic *[Zagreb TV]* 35
Tudjman on Croatia's Efforts To End Crisis *[Zagreb Radio]* 35
RSK President Protests to Mitterrand *[TANJUG]* 36
Tudjman Comments on Visit to Romania *[Zagreb Radio]* 36

MACEDONIA

Crvenkovski Assails Greek Government's Moves *[Skopje Radio]* 38
Emergency Government Session Called *[AFP]* 38
Crvenkovski Applies to Join 'Partnership' *[AFP]* 38
Commission Adopts Bill on Intelligence Agency *[MIC 16 Feb]* 38
January Inflation Rate Disputed *[MILS-NEWS 16 Feb]* 39
Republic Settles $107-Million Debt *[MILS-NEWS 16 Feb]* 39

SLOVENIA

Joint Commission To Investigate F-16 Crash *[Ljubljana Radio]* 40
Parties Plan Merger With Liberal Democrats *[Ljubljana Radio]* 40
Intelligence Services Undergo Reorganization *[DELO 7 Feb]* 40

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

France Repatriates Diplomats' Dependents *[Paris Radio]* 42

Serbia

Churkin Sees 'Much Better' Sarajevo Situation *[Belgrade TV]* 42
Extends Stay in Belgrade *[TANJUG]* 42
To Meet With Karadzic *[AFP]* 42
Opposition Party Leader on NATO Air Strikes *[TANJUG]* 42

Montenegro

Boka Threatens Unification With 'Serbian Lands' *[VECERNJE NOVOSTI 16 Feb]* 43

Kosovo

Police, Army Mistreat 'Dozens' of Ethnic Albanians *[Tirana TV]* 43

Serreqi Views Greek Talks, Positions on Bosnia

AU1602205694 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Interview with Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi by correspondent Bujar Muharremi in Tirana; date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Muharremi] Mr. Minister, you recently made an official visit to Greece and met your counterpart Papoulias. Was this visit conducted in the context of relations with Greece in its capacity as head of the EC Presidency, or were there other problems associated with relations and the regional situation?

[Serreqi] The meeting was not bilateral. It was a meeting held in the context of Albanian relations with the European Union. Of course, the Greek foreign minister presented the invitation, but on behalf of the EC Presidency. The meeting aimed at discussing the results achieved so far in Albania's cooperation with the EU and the prospects for this cooperation.

The meeting was mostly characterized by a real climate of understanding. I should stress that the results of the reform in Albania and those of Albania's cooperation with the EU were very positively assessed. Besides this problem, we discussed the crisis in the region, as well as joint programs of future cooperation, the PHARE [Economic and Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] and inter-EC programs. We also discussed other problems of a political nature.

[Muharremi] Mr. Minister, what was the attitude of the Greek side regarding the crisis in the region?

[Serreqi] In general, the positions were pretty far removed from each other. The discussion resembled the confrontation of viewpoints we presented in Geneva several days ago. Of course, we stressed two or three main points, such as that we do not consider the division of Bosnia into three ethnic units to be a fair and permanent solution that serves peace. We believe that the recent NATO decision, the final ultimatum, should be supported, and the Albanian Government fully supports it. Our positions were not consistent with those maintained by the Greek Government.

[Muharremi] Mr. Minister, at the news conference held in Athens, you were questioned about the Albanian Government's opinion on the stability of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Can you please tell us something about this problem?

[Serreqi] That was not the question. The question was related to the Congress of the Party for Democratic Prosperity in Macedonia and the answer was very clear. The answer was this: Interstate relations have nothing to do with interparty relations. Albania has been very clear in its policy toward Macedonia. Albania has recognized Macedonia for reasons that are already known. At the same time, we will never stop until Macedonia guarantees all legitimate rights to Albanians living there.

Journalist Prosecuted for 'Insulting' State

AU1602162394 Tirana ALEANCA in Albanian 15 Feb 94 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "Gjergj Zefi, Deputy Chairman of the Democratic Alliance Assembly and ALEANCA Deputy Editor in Chief, To Be Tried"]

[Text] Mr. Gjergj Zefi, deputy chairman of the Democratic Alliance Assembly and ALEANCA deputy editor in chief, was summoned to the Tirana Prosecutor's Office yesterday. Prosecutor Gezim Lleshi informed him of the initiation of criminal proceedings against him on the charge of "insulting the state." The charge arises over a statement by Mr. Gjergj Zefi published in KOHA JONE on 1 February, the day after the arrest of the journalists Aleksander Frangaj and Martin Leka. In this statement, deploring the unjust arrest of his fellow journalists, Mr. Gjergj Zefi employed the expression: This is not a state, but a band of mafiosi putting Albania in serious danger.

The Tirana Prosecutor's Office, which apparently now mainly spends its time reading newspapers, has initiated criminal proceedings over this expression. Gjergj Zefi has been ordered not to leave the cities of Shkoder and Tirana.

In connection with the charge and his expected trial, Mr. Gjergj Zefi declared to the press yesterday:

I am from Shkoder, and my two fellow journalists were arrested at a time when the entire public in my home town was waiting for those implicated in the crime of 14 January [murder of Democratic Alliance member Gjovalin Cekini] to be arrested and the covens that link the state officials, mafiosi, and professional criminals that are strangling the city to be flushed out. This is the greatest irony. Before Gjovalin Cekini's blood has dried, journalists are arrested! I therefore issued the above statement. I am thinking of the murder of Gjovalin Cekini, the systematic violation of the embargo by certain sections of the state, who use not small cars but huge tanker-trucks, and the strategy of terror and tension that these people invested with power employ in Shkoder and beyond. I do not know what else one can call a state that is composed of professional murderers, mafiosi, and state officials who throw their weight around however they like, and does nothing. I also have other facts that I will make public at my trial, which I am calmly expecting, in order to prove with unfettered powers of judgement that we are dealing with a band of mafiosi that is putting Albania in serious danger.

Zhelev Responds to Demirel on B-H Conflict

AU1602173694 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Text] President Zhelyu Zhelev has sent a message to Turkish President Suleyman Demirel, the president's Press Center reports.

The message points out that Bulgaria's position on the crisis in former Yugoslavia is a consistent and principled one. Bulgaria opposes the direct participation of Balkan countries and countries bordering on former Yugoslavia in eventual military measures aimed at establishing peace in the region.

The Bulgarian president thinks that even partially lifting the arms embargo for the fighting sides would tend to exacerbate the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The message assesses the ultimatum of the NATO Council as the last and radical warning for forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina that do not accept the UN Security Council resolution and hinder peace negotiations.

In conclusion, President Zhelev expresses confidence that after signing the Partnership for Peace, relations between Bulgaria and NATO will enter a new and more sound stage that will also positively affect relations with Turkey.

Army Spokesman Downplays Danger of Air Strikes

AU1602134794 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 11 Feb 94 p 1

[Andrey Rangelov report: "No Immediate Danger for Bulgaria Exists"]

[Text] There is no immediate danger of Bulgaria becoming involved in the Yugoslav conflict, even if NATO goes through with its threat to carry out air strikes on Serbian positions. This is what Colonel Plamen Studenkov, deputy chief of the Army's General Staff Intelligence Directorate, said in an interview with BULGARSKA ARMIYA yesterday. The statement was prompted by a report in a Sofia daily under the sensational headline: "Intelligence Agent Number One Is Prophesying War in Our Country." It is actually difficult to make any predictions or express opinions on future developments related to the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Colonel Studenkov commented.

According to the General Staff officer, our involvement or noninvolvement in Balkan events depends entirely on our country's future stand and policy, and on nothing else.

According to the colonel, Turkey is supposed to have deployed an air force squadron in Italy, as part of the joint NATO air force contingent controlling the airspace over Bosnia. Nevertheless, I am convinced that Turkey is not likely to participate in any armed conflict with its military force, Colonel Studenkov pointed out. He bases himself on the fact that in its recent history Turkey has always shown an essentially realistic approach to military conflicts, especially on occasions when the use of armed forces outside the country's territory was involved.

As far as Greece is concerned, that country not only opposes the aforementioned air strikes, but it even refuses to get involved in the Yugoslav conflict altogether. In addition, the Greeks would react sharply to possible Turkish participation in an armed intervention in Bosnia, according to the Bulgarian Army spokesman. Colonel Studenkov presumes that the outcome of the conflict will be clarified in the final days before NATO's 10-day ultimatum on the withdrawal of the Bosnian Serbs' heavy weapons from the outskirts of Sarajevo runs out.

Greek Army General Staff Chief Visits

AU1502213894 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 15 Feb 94

[Text] On 15 February Admiral Khristos Limberis, chief of the Greek Army General Staff, who is visiting Bulgaria, consecutively met and talked with his counterpart, Army General Lyuben Petrov, chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff, and Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov. Issues of mutual interest and certain aspects of the situation in the Balkans were discussed. The two sides noted agreement on their positions on the situation in the Balkans.

Later the guest met Nikolay Slatinski, chairman of the National Assembly Commission on National Security.

Military Agreement Signed

AU1602121194 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Report on signing of military cooperation program by Army General Lyuben Petrov, chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff, and Greek Admiral Khristos Limberis, chief of the Greek Army General Staff, at the Defense Ministry in Sofia]

[Text] A short while ago, in the ceremonial hall at the Defense Ministry, Army General Lyuben Petrov, chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff, and Admiral Khristos Limberis, chief of the National Defense General Staff of Greece, signed a program for military cooperation during 1994. Here are statements by the two chiefs following the signing ceremony:

[Begin Petrov recording] This is a very specific program for joint activity at different levels by the military representatives of the two countries. It is fully in the spirit of the documents signed so far on friendship and cooperation between Bulgaria and Greece; it is fully in the spirit of the military agreement signed by the Bulgarian and Greek defense ministers in 1993, which is a

very important document embodying additional confidence- and security-building measures further to the 1992 Vienna document, and fully in the spirit of the Partnership for Peace Initiative. [end recording]

[Begin Limberis recording, in Greek with superimposed Bulgarian translation] Today's signing of the cooperation program confirms the excellent level of relations in the military field between the two countries' military forces, and at the same time opens up new ways. We now face a further challenge to extend our cooperation with a view to serving the interests of peace. [end recording]

Implications of NATO Balkan Policy Examined

AU1602162794 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 14 Feb 94 p 6

[Atanas Matev commentary: "....For Balkan States In Particular"]

[Text] Tension within NATO circles has been greatly escalating over the last two or three days and is growing to an unprecedented level. Naturally, it is related to the ultimatum against the Bosnian Serbs that was recently adopted.

Are the conditions of the ultimatum likely to be fulfilled, or will it become necessary for NATO to embark on its first combat actions since its establishment 45 years ago? If there should be some fighting, how are the military operations going to proceed? Should only air power be involved, or can we expect ground forces to intervene as well? If such an intervention should become necessary, which NATO member countries would agree to send their soldiers to a he Bosnian battlefield from which many would not return alive? The probable refusal of several countries, if not of all the NATO members, to send their boys to certain death would cause irreparable damage to the prestige of the organization, which was most widely propagated as a lever and source of stability in the world after the fall of communism? Is the loss of such prestige not likely to be a death sentence for NATO?

With the approach of the ultimatum's deadline, such and other questions are being increasingly frequently asked within NATO's leading circles.

It is strange but their answers should have been clear even as early as a few days ago while NATO was deciding what actions to take in Bosnia after the massacre on Sarajevo's market square. This is what a policy based on wisdom, rather than on emotions, should be all about.

Let us hope that NATO's policy regarding the events in Bosnia is based on wisdom, rather than on emotions. In the opposite case, not only is NATO's future at stake, but many rather dangerous things are involved, which apply to the Balkan states in particular.

Investigation of 1992 U.S. Presidential Race

AU1602134394 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 15 Feb 94 p 2

[Article by "km": "An Investigator From the United States Came To Study Information on Clinton"]

[Text] Prague—According to the U.S. daily THE WASHINGTON POST, Josephine diGenova, an independent U.S. investigator, has visited the Czech Republic to learn details of the alleged involvement of the former Czechoslovak secret service in the 1992 U.S. presidential election campaign.

According to this source, diGenova is to verify reports claiming that the Czechoslovak secret service provided the election staff of former President George Bush with information discrediting his then election rival, Bill Clinton.

The U.S. investigator is mostly interested in the illegal search for information in President Bill Clinton's travel documents. Clinton came for a visit as a student in the 1970's. The former Czechoslovak authorities allegedly provided Bush's election team with, among other things, the report that Bill Clinton's sojourn in Prague has not been registered with the police. This information has then been correlated to the never-confirmed link between Clinton and the Soviet secret service KGB. Marek Skolil, director of the Press Department of the Foreign Ministry has so far refused to comment on the visit of the U.S. investigator.

NSC Cited on Importance of Central Europe.

AU1602162494 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 15 Feb 94 p 23

[CTK Washington dispatch: "United States: Paying Attention to Central and Eastern Europe"]

[Text] Washington—The formation of a high-level U.S. Government group to deal with the affairs of Central and East Europe was confirmed by Richard Shifter, a high-ranking representative of the U.S. President's National Security Council, in Washington on Sunday [13 February].

In a speech at the outset of a conference on the trade and economic aspects of developments in Central and East Europe, which is organized by the Washington-based organization European Institute, Shifter said that this group would be headed by Under Secretary of State Peter Tarnoff.

Shifter, who is director for Central and East Europe in the National Security Council, declared that the formation of this group was the result of an overall revision of U.S. foreign policy carried out after the accession of Bill Clinton's administration. Following this analysis of foreign policy, it was decided that special attention must be paid to Central and East Europe, Shifter said, and stressed the significance of the success of political and democratic reforms in this region for the United States.

At the same time, he drew attention to the fact that no new financial resources from the U.S. budget could be expected in support of cooperation with Central and East Europe. The main issue is how to make optimal use of existing funds, Shifter said, and stressed, in particular, support of the private sector.

The decision to form the group for Central and East Europe was made about two weeks ago and is to meet for the first time within the next few days, Richard Shifter told CTK.

All important departments of the U.S. Administration will be represented in this group, including the Departments of State, Defense, Energy, and Agriculture.

The conference on Central and East Europe organized by the European Institute is attended also by Czech Minister of Industry and Trade Vladimir Dlouhy.

Klaus on 'Dissection' of Differences With Havel

AU1602191994 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Feb 94 pp 1-2

[Roundup of RUDE PRAVO correspondents' reports: "The Prime Minister Does Not Wish Dissection of the Difference Between His and Havel's Stand on Bosnia"]

[Excerpt] Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus (Civic Democratic Party) refused to describe his and the president's views on Bosnia as conflicting when talking about a solution to the Bosnian crisis before newsmen on Monday [14 February]. According to Klaus, the difference between his and Havel's statements merely lies in a sterner and a less stern formulation. The prime minister believes that, had one not started to "dissect" these formulations, the Czech Republic definitely would not suffer any damage.

Klaus is "fully convinced that there will not be any [NATO] air strikes." He characterized his view that the core to the settlement of the conflict lay in an internal agreement as "the sole correct approach."

During the weekend, President Havel supported NATO's threat of air strikes in the event of the Bosnian Serbs' failure to withdraw their heavy artillery deployed around Sarajevo by 21 February. Prime Minister Klaus, on the other hand, said last Thursday [10 February] that the Czech Government and the Civic Democratic Party were afraid of an external intervention in Bosnia.

Klaus noted at his briefing on Monday that the situation in Bosnia remained a subject of discussion all over the world. "When we emphasize that the core of the solution lies in a domestic agreement and that any external involvement can only be a supplement, this is not, I think, in contradiction with anything [Havel says] and is the sole correct approach," he said literally.

Deputy Prime Minister and Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA] chairman Jan Kalvoda said on Monday, in reply to a question from RUDE PRAVO, that the [Czech

Government's] position on the Bosnian conflict ought to be discussed by the coalition's Foreign Policy Coordination Council, which comprises, among others, the president, the chairmen of coalition parties, and the minister of foreign affairs. Prime Minister Klaus rejected this proposal the same day when talking to reporters. He said that a united stand on Bosnia was a problem only for those who were trying "to find at any price a contradiction where there is not any."

According to Kalvoda, the body for foreign policy coordination was established to deal precisely with issues such as this one. "In matters such as this, no constitutional body can implement a policy different from the coalition," Kalvoda said. Replying to another question from RUDE PRAVO—whether the government should adopt a statement of principle on Bosnia—Kalvoda said that it was a supremely political issue which constitutional body delivers its opinion on the matter. "However, any constitutional body should always do so on the basis of the coalition's decision. I do not think right now that the government should adopt a statement [at its next meeting] on Wednesday [16 February]," he said. According to ODA Deputy Chairman Daniel Kroupa, such a statement of principle could be adopted by parliament.

The statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Bosnia on Friday [11 February] is not a statement that would be changed from one day to the next, M. Skolil, chief of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Section, said on Monday when responding to RUDE PRAVO's question of whether differences existed in the interpretation of the government's talks on the NATO ultimatum to Bosnian Serbs. "Our diplomats have been instructed in accordance with the ministry statement. It is not the task of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to comment on a discussion that may be taking place among our constitutional officials. We present the official stand of the Czech Republic per se. It is the binding standpoint of both the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Czech Republic," Skolil said. [passage omitted]

National Bank Official: Slovakia Repaid Debt

AU1602135394 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 9 Feb 94 p 3

[CTK report: "Slovakia Has Paid $51 Million to the Czech Republic"]

[Text] Prague—The Slovak National Bank yesterday paid $51 million—that is, 46 million ECU's—to the Czech National Bank (CNB). This is the amount by which at the end of January Slovakia exceeded its credit margin in the mutual trade clearing account. This statement was made on Nova Television by O. Kvacek, from the CNB Press Department. CNB press spokesman Martin Svehla, in response to a query from CTK, was unable to confirm this information. "There is still an imbalance in trade between the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The fact is that the clearing account balance with Slovakia has already exceeded 6 billion korunas and that credit has been de facto granted by the Czech Republic at this level," said Ota Kaftan, a member of the CNB Banking Council. The credit margin was first exceeded at the end of last December. The Slovak National Bank settled the $43-million deficit ahead of time on 10 January. At that time, press spokesman Svehla described this step as highly professional. He emphasized that the debt payment took place without problems, in time, and precisely in accordance with the payments agreement.

Klaus Addresses Swiss Banks on Transformation

AU1402154894 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 10 Feb 94 p 11

[Speech by Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus to the Association of Swiss Bankers in Wolfsberg on 31 January: "The Czech Republic's Transformation and the European Context"]

[Text] Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus delivered a speech on 31 January in the Association of Swiss Banks' Study Center in Wolfsberg on general experiences involved in the transformation of the postcommunist countries. The speech, supplemented by a discussion, was delivered in German. The addendum on Macroeconomic Rules, published below, was not contained in the speech.

The subject of my speech is a discussion on the current epochal role of the postcommunist countries within the context of European integration. This role is characterized by a number of specific national traits and features; however, it also has its own general laws that are today better understood and better formulated and that will certainly soon be written down in a manual entitled "How the Communist System Is Being Transformed."

The Domestic View

There are three prerequisites for successful transformation:

1. Formulating a clear vision—that is, a vision of a social order in accordance with our own ideals (the ideological role);

2. Creating a general consensus in society, which, of course, is impossible without "selling" this vision in a contest among political parties (within the framework of parliamentary democracy);

3. Understanding for the peculiarities of the transition period and then, in particular, for the ability of the political representatives to put into practice, decisively and purposefully and, at the same time, sensitively, flexibly, and considerately, the reform strategy following from this. This means with regard to the social sectors of the population that will, in the short term, have to come to terms with certain negative factors in this process (the economic role).

Of all of the postcommunist countries, the Czech Republic has made the most progress in this role, despite

the unfortunate breakup of the state, which we really did not want. We have already achieved the following:

—we have established a party-political system corresponding to Western standards, including ideologically "well-defined" parties;

—we have won reliable support from the public (to date, there has not been a single serious conflict in the social sphere);

—we have formulated a sensible and very liberal economic policy;

—the Czech Republic has the lowest and most controlled rate of inflation (approximately 10 percent per annum);

—we have a very low unemployment level (3.5 percent at the end of 1993);

—we have a balanced state budget;

—despite the fact that we introduced a functioning system for the Czech koruna's internal convertibility, we have a stable foreign currency exchange rate (for 37 months now, since December 1990);

—we have a balance of payments surplus and rising foreign currency reserves, and our exports are increasing rapidly;

—the decline of the gross national product has been halted;

—we have attained a rapid pace in deregulation, liberalization, and privatization.

These are all factors that plainly differentiate us from the other Central and East European states.

The Obstacles and Twists and Turns of Transformation

The results of the recent elections in Poland and also the political disputes in Russia—just to mention two examples—indicate that the transition process from communism to democracy and a market economy will not follow a direct route but will contain obstacles and twists and turns, and also that this process will take longer in different countries. In the West, the problems of the postcommunist countries are considered to be a consequence of the blocking tactics of the supporters of the old social orders. This is also the view held by a sizable percentage of the public in postcommunist countries. Unfortunately, these ideas do not correspond at all to the facts. Far greater obstacles to the reform process—of course, not so much in the Czech Republic as in the other postcommunist countries—are:

—insisting on a negative vision (unity in rejecting the communist past is a characteristic feature, however) without establishing a positive consensus (the result is extreme political atomization);

—a lingering unwillingness to give up state paternalism. Of course, satisfaction at the demise of political confinement and the bureaucratic restriction of economic freedom (especially private ownership) is clearly formulated here, but this is something else. Preference is still given to security (to a relatively high level of welfare) over the insecurity that may be caused by the greater risks of the results of a market economy;

—the illusions of left-wing intellectuals (constantly nourished from the West) about various "third ways," about the possibility of establishing a just and efficiently functioning world, and about the necessity of managing social processes by a so-called select intellectual elite;

—petty politicking instead of a realistic and pragmatic policy. The attempt to achieve the maximum political effect in the shortest possible time instead of a clear-sighted political strategy, and political gestures instead of everyday meticulous political work;

—a misunderstanding of the inevitabilities of the epoch of transition, inability to cope with reform strategy, and the incorrect choice of the sequence of the individual reform steps.

The Rules for Transformation

I would like to mention in this regard a few basic but important rules for transformation. Any attempt to plan the individual reform steps in detail does not have a chance. Despite this, certain basic rules should be observed. My experiences tell me that we have to begin with a considerable dose of restrictive macroeconomic policy. This way, we will achieve the basis for liberalizing prices and liberalizing foreign trade and also, by reducing subsidies, a dramatic turnaround in the economic climate.

A country that does not initiate this macroeconomic policy at the very beginning of the reform process will, inevitably, find itself in a situation that I described four years ago as a "reform trap": This is a vicious circle of high inflation (or even hyperinflation), repeated devaluation of the currency, rising foreign indebtedness, budget deficits, and so on. I venture to claim that the CSFR was, and the current Czech Republic is, a country that unequivocally and without any pressure from outside introduced, deliberately and more decisively, these unpopular but essential measures.

Radical and merciless liberalization of prices and foreign trade is another essential measure. In this way, we will achieve:

—the opening up of markets;

—a market evaluation of property, goods, and services;

—changes in the former irrational modes of behavior;

—economic balance;

—and the economic entities at the supply side of the market will receive the right signals.

The exchange rate, at this point, must become a firm nominal anchor. It must operate like an Archimedes point for the whole economic system, the only stable nominal value for the economy that does not succumb to fluctuations. The currency, evaluated by its purchasing power parity, has to be substantially devalued on account of the enormous structural defects of the centrally planned economy, defects that manifest themselves in the form of a balance-of-payments deficit.

After the government has resisted appeals for help, subsidies, modernization, and demonopolization, it must commence a comprehensive process of privatization. This is the only way to achieve far-reaching changes, this is the only way to find real (and, therefore, responsible and rationally behaving) owners, and this is the only way to strike a meaningful blow against the attempts of bureaucracy to control the economy.

These basic rules for the course of reform are certainly neither original nor innovative. If they seem original to us, this is merely because they are often forgotten and ignored.

The Foreign Aspects

All of transformation must be carried out at home, and, therefore, the role of the "rest of the world" is small. We need general political support, we also need guarantees for our external security, and we need financial support in the form of loans from institutions such as the International Monetary Fund. Otherwise, we "only" need our integration into the global economy. And this is far more difficult than it seemed at first glance.

Our former artificial economic integration—the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance—now, fortunately, belongs to the past. Economic relations within the framework of this integration did not depend on the comparative advantages of the individual member countries; therefore, they cannot be—at least, without exerting coercive pressure—restored. It will be many years before these countries are again financially and economically consolidated; therefore, it is impossible in the short and medium-time frame to bank on an increase in mutual trade. For this reason, the proposals from the West concerning increasing cooperation—for example, within the framework of the so-called Visegrad Group—are also groundless. Such cooperation cannot be created from above, but only—and perhaps only—from below.

Futile "Maastricht" Ambitions

The Western world—first and foremost, West Europe and the European Union—has its own problems. These problems are characterized by the current unfavorable phase of economic development and by the excessive social burden of state interventionism. They also stem from lofty and, in my opinion, futile "Maastricht" ambitions, ambitions we can say of a unitarist or almost unitarist perception of Europe. This all leads—although the external rhetoric of West European politicians says otherwise—to less openness toward the postcommunist world. When I said a few months ago that, after the 1989 "Velvet Revolution" the West had hung up a "Do Not Disturb" sign, this was certainly an exaggeration and a extreme oversimplification. However, the continuing protectionism applied in multifarious forms represents a considerable threat to our transformation role. The East is often criticized for the nationalism of its ethnic conflicts, but I would like to point out that protectionism is also a form of nationalism.

The collapse of the Soviet empire created a completely new situation for us, and we are aware of this. Naturally, the collapse of the Soviet empire also created a completely new situation for the West. It also brought new uncertainties, new doubts, and new questions. We observe ambivalent tendencies and phenomena at both ends of Europe, which we cannot accept passively. We have to proceed actively against them.

Centralization, Bureaucratization, Lobbies

In the West, we can also see:

—increasing centralization of the economic processes and the bureaucratization of everyday life;

—increasing activity by various lobbies asserting only partial interests, which endangers the entire community (new feudalization);

—the transfer of decisionmaking to an international level, the consequence of which is that standard domestic control mechanisms lose their function and that the key role remains in the hands of an unelected bureaucracy;

—a certain comfortableness in political life, a loss of political courage, and giving priority to one's own political survival instead of to fundamental decisionmaking, which is unavoidably associated with substantially greater risks;

—certain etatist thinking, ideas about an all-providing welfare guaranteeing state, while only a few people realize that the state can guarantee such a function only under the precondition that its citizens surrender a major part of their freedom.

A Challenge for the Whole of Europe

Resolving these problems presented by the new situation is a challenge for all of us—in the West and in the East.

During those periods in which Europe was not fatefully divided, it always represented unity in abundance. The vision of European union in the sense of unification was always, in the better instance, a utopia, a dream bearing no relation to reality. In the worse instance, for example, in its "Napoleonic" variant, it involved an attempt by the larger powers to assert a European hegemony. Such solutions were always short-term ones, and they were always characterized by the use of force.

T. G. Masaryk, the first president of the Czechoslovak Republic before World War II, wrote the following about this problem in 1922:

"The issue in Europe involves creating harmony between centralist and autonomist forces. Europe's unity consists of this harmony. However, unity is not just homogeneity. Europe is characterized by its ethnic and cultural differences. This variety was formed by thousands of years of development; therefore, European unity must be realized, first and foremost, in accordance with the historical principle and, apart from this, of course, in accordance with the given natural national and other differences." Masaryk, in the 1920's, considered the so-called Balkanization of Europe to be a great oversimplification. According to him, the issue in fact involved a historical process and an attempt by entire nations and countries to intensify their whole political and cultural life.

The following conclusions are drawn from this: The current changes in Europe create the need for a new analysis about what Europe is and what Europe should be.

Europe, whether we like it or not, was opened up to the East by the collapse of the communist bloc. Europe was in fact expanded and it must now react to this new situation. The idea that the postcommunist countries will gradually be "Europeanized" and the promises that they will then be able to be gradually integrated into an unchanged West Europe are inadequate and, in principle, false. We need a new vision and new initiatives. Truly meaningful European cooperation can only take place on the basis of openness and mutuality, and that is something that we in the postcommunist countries perceive and see only inadequately. We are prepared to take an active part in this work, and we believe that we will be given an opportunity for this.

Macroeconomic Rules

Finding the right time to change economic policy administration from a restrictive to a neutral or even an expansive policy is a very difficult task. During the radical transformation process, the economy is anything but a homogeneous unit. For this reason, the turning point on the aggregate supply curve—from the horizontal to the vertical part of the curve—is very acute and lies far below the level of full employment. Although in this situation there is considerable pressure to artificially stimulate the economy, we must resist it.

In the first two years of our transformation, before and immediately after liberalizing prices, we asserted a restrictive policy with the state budget surpluses, and only then did we turn toward a neutral macroeconomic administration with a balanced state budget. We are sticking to this line today. According to my estimates, not one of the reforming East European countries has yet reached the stage at which liberating fiscal and monetary policy and initiating a Keynesian demand-oriented policy would be warranted.

The unavoidable inflationary response following price liberalization must be announced in advance, explained, and defended, and, first and foremost, the political leadership must "survive" it. The initial price increases depend on the inherited level of macroeconomic imbalance; on the whole, it was slight in the CSFR and huge in Poland, Russia, and the other successor states to the USSR. On the other hand, the dynamism of prices later in the reform process is determined by the extent of the restrictions on finance and monetary policy.

In the CSFR's case, the rise in prices a month after the start of the reforms was a "mere" 25 percent. In the ensuing three months, the rate of inflation stabilized at 7.0 percent, 4.5 percent, and 2.0 percent, and, during the next 20 months (right up to the introduction of the value-added tax), hovered at just under 1.0 percent per month. In the other reforming countries, there were—and still are—considerable fluctuations in the rate of inflation with repeated phases of a more rapid and then a slower rise in prices, for which the mistakes in macroeconomic policy are responsible.

This policy can only hope to succeed if two aspects leading to the vicious circle can be limited: the price-wage and inflation-devaluation spirals. On the basis of our experiences, the two phenomena are closely associated with unforced errors in economic policy. During the phase of macroeconomic restrictions (1990-91), wages in our country were kept below the level of the general increase in prices. During the "neutral policy" phase (1992-93), wages rose rather faster than prices, while no serious problems arose from this; wages did not lose contact with the other pan-economic variable quantities.

The same applies for the connections between inflation and the exchange rate. Reforming countries are, as a rule, confronted with a considerable macroeconomic imbalance (the consequence of which is unavoidable rapid price increases), overvalued currencies (with considerable payment deficits and exhausted foreign currency reserves), and high state budget deficits (the consequence of an inadequate restrictive policy). At the same time, reforming countries do not sufficiently devalue their currencies. The result of this is that, given increasing domestic prices, exports decline and imports rise. This leads to a worsening of the balance of payments situation, which necessitates further devaluation and so leads to the import of inflation. This in turn stimulates a rise in domestic prices, which leads to the vicious circle.

In our country, the situation is and was different. The original inherited macroeconomic imbalance was slight, economic policy was cautious and oriented restrictively, and the devaluation, as it turned out, was sufficient. The substantial devaluation created enough scope for essential prices and costs' adaptation in the ensuing period. It seems that it is possible to avoid the danger of the vicious economic circle—under the precondition that economic policy pursues a sensible course.

Meciar Discusses Current Political Situation

AU1102195294 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 7 Feb 94

[Interview in two installments with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Jan Smolec, chief editor of REPUBLIKA; place and date not given]

[7 Feb pp 1, 4]

A Misunderstanding With the President Is the Last Thing We Need

[Text] *Since the end of last year, every day brings new, often very dramatic and tangled, situations on our political scene. Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar has been and remains the principal actor in all these episodes. Many politicians, deputies, and, of course, journalists decided since the beginning of the year to deal very "harshly" with him. They do anything in their power to remove him from the political scene. Therefore, REPUBLIKA tried for a topical interview with the prime minister.*

[Smolec] As a journalist, I would like to ask you about the dominant topical events that are shaking our political scene. The REPUBLIKA readers are, among other things, however, also interested in whether you managed to rest on the brief vacation you took at the end of last year and the beginning of this year, and recharge the battery of your personal energy and vitality.

[Meciar] If I do not take into account meetings with Cabinet members and talks with several other officials, I have really had a little rest. I have even managed to get on my skis once and to fall. There was no reporter around, but it would have been a fantastic shot with a caption "Meciar's Fall." I met a man there whom I very much respect—Mr. Kulang, a porter in the High Tatras mountain range. In 1992, he celebrated our election victory in the Tatras by carrying a record 207-kg load. I was rambling through the streets. I met young people. One of them recognized me. He called to his friends, "Hey, that's Meciar." His friends turned and replied: "You are silly, Meciar is twice as tall."

[Smolec] The independent Slovakia is also your achievement as a statesman. In the struggle for a place in the sun, you stand out among the many of your "fellow travelers." Those who did not want Slovak independence are "plotting" against you now. They predicted that the first attack against you would begin in January. It did. When do you expect the next one?

[Meciar] The whirlwind around me never stops. Unfortunately, there are also people who are, as you say, "plotting" against me. I have a message for these people: "I still have enough strength to face them."

[Smolec] Our readers are very disappointed that even the Slovak president, who holds his post also because of you, has stood up against you. In the New Year's address, he appealed to the leading representatives of the parliamentary parties to search for personalities suitable for the government. The president is calling for a stable government that will be trusted abroad. It is an obvious casting of doubts on the prime minister, the government.... The readers are convinced that it is the people close to the president who are responsible for the conflict between the Castle and Freedom Square [seats of the president and the prime minister (government), respectively]. After all, it is surprising, to say the least, if a Christian Democratic Movement politician who had voted in the former Federal Assembly against Slovak independence is responsible for security policy at the Castle. The following postulate is gaining in popularity among the people: The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] won the elections, but the Castle was won by the VPN [the former Public Against Violence movement] members, obnoxious people, Czechoslovakists....

[Meciar] I refuse the thesis of good kings and bad advisers. In a democracy, the chief is responsible for his advisers. It is never the other way around—the advisers are not responsible for the chief. There are differences between the government and the Castle. The president pointed them out clearly on 1 January. Neither do I want to go into details, nor do we have the time. This misunderstanding is the last thing we need. I must, however, comment on certain aspects of this problem. Political parties and movements are independent of the state. A state representative has no right to interfere in the internal affairs of these parties, even if he is the president. The government is subject to parliamentary control but not to the president. The president entrusts the prime minister with the composition of a new government, but he cannot create a situation that would lead to a change of this government. There are also the political aspects. Not even the president can cast doubts on the government in the international political arena and, at the same time, interfere in its powers. There is a lot that one can criticize in these relations, and a lot more of what Ivan Gasparovic, chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, has disclosed so far.

[Smolec] You must certainly have analyzed your approach to date. Which steps in your decisionmaking do you consider erroneous, which do you intend to correct? To pass on the critical comments of our readers, they do not like the fact that, now and then, you react very impulsively. Your vigor is well known, but you can be also very benevolent, as you were, for instance, to the most recent visitors from Hungary (Sandor Lezsak of the Hungarian Democratic Forum). If, by his impertinent comments, a visitor interferes in the internal affairs of Slovakia, he should be taken by the collar, shown the border, and ordered never to come back. We must speak more about the demands and rights of the Slovaks in southern Slovakia.

[Meciar] We have not made any substantial changes in the strategy. We could have harmonized the steps in certain critical issues differently. One example is the economic sphere. Another question is what disposable resources we had to make such corrections. We have made some mistakes in personnel work, and it should be

openly admitted what these mistakes were—Knazko, Filkus, Cernak. I react only in certain specific situations beyond the limit of endurance or the limits of objective truth. Some people might not like the form but, for God's sake, they cannot demand that I should be liked by everyone.

Regarding the questions of relations between the Slovaks and the Hungarians, I do not believe that we made a mistake. The opposite. The government has a concept and is implementing it. The government submitted bills to the National Council of the Slovak Republic and kept all of its promises. If these bills were not passed in parliament, it is not the government's business. Proposals different from the government ones came to parliament from the president's roundtable. That was, in essence, the beginning of the split in the parliament. It was forgotten that the legislative initiative belongs to the government or a deputy, but not a roundtable.

Regarding the southern region of Slovakia, we must corroborate that Slovakia is our common home. We are building good relations and mutual respect among the citizens. No assimilation of Hungarians is taking place in Slovakia, and nothing like that is planned. The Slovaks in nationally mixed regions must be supported just as much as the Hungarians. They must not be worse off.

[Smolec] In his book *The History of the 20th Century*, Paul Johnson considers the economic miracle of the West the most important event of the century. Approximately 300 million people attained tremendous wealth over just 35 years. The credit for this belongs, above all, to politicians with authoritarian tendencies: Adenauer, de Gasperi, de Gaulle. At a time of transition, such politicians are literally indispensable. You indicate, by answering in all seriousness the questions of a journalistic ignoramus with hooligan tendencies, for instance, that you reject all authoritarian forms of government. You even let yourself be insulted. Will that not lead to your adversaries taking ever greater liberties?

[Meciar] In a democracy, power can be given to a single person, but never so much that it could no longer be taken away from that person. There have been instances of this in history. Is there such a situation in Slovakia today? I do not think so.

Regarding communication, everyone defends himself to his limit of jeopardy. This limit of jeopardy, then, is perceived differently by each person, and he or she chooses the means of protection accordingly. I do not feel threatened. Therefore, I even talk to a journalistic ignoramus. I refuse to use violent coercive methods to deal with political problems. It is you journalists who should be dealing with infractions of journalistic ethics.

[Smolec] A politician occasionally finds himself in a situation in which he must take on what is called historic responsibility. When have you been in such a situation?

[Meciar] I remember the situation in December 1992, when all of the political parties, with the exception of the Slovak National Party, refused to support us. We needed to get three votes in the Federal Assembly in the final ballot on the demise of the federation. They asked, "Who will take the responsibility?" I got up then and said, "I take this responsibility upon myself." There are times when it must be done. I remember how the responsibility frightened even some members of the HZDS delegation to Jihlava. In effect, they left me all alone. I had more work with our own delegation than with the Czech party. Under psychological pressure and with the Czech ultimatum they retreated too far. It was necessary, then, to take personal responsibility.

Following the emergence of the state, there was no state structure. It was necessary to build it, and, of course, bear the responsibility. We have now reached the stage at which this structure is being implemented. Every state, every community, every interest group should choose personalities capable of representing and defending their interests. If the personalities are removed, only the mediocre will remain. If an authoritative decision is to be made, and if the situation requires it, again, I will not hesitate. It is always necessary to consider the time and the means. For a long time now, it has not been valid that sordid means are justified by holy ends.

[8 Feb p 4]

[Text]

We Need Democracy Rather Than "Democratizers"

[Smolec] For how much longer will the enterprises depend solely on the government and not on their own management? Jefferson said that the best government is the one that governs least.

[Meciar] The people themselves are feeling the direct effects of the extent of the changes. Everyone feels that a fundamental change is taking place. A gradual improvement was assumed in 1989, and the systemic change was not expected. Let us not forget that the change is taking place at a time of an economic crisis, the collapse and creation of new markets, and the collapse and creation of a new system of economic cooperation. These are the external factors. Within society, it is not just the emergence of the state but also the change of economic conditions. We have inherited 89 billion [korunas] of enterprise insolvency, a government budget deficit, inefficient state administration, and a shortage of various operations that are necessary for a functioning economic process. Therefore, it is only logical that many enterprises are waiting for the state to implement its policy. On the other hand, any policy or change in the macrostructure is predestined to fail if it is not accompanied by changes in the microstructure—i.e., by changes in the community or enterprise. After all, each enterprise has its own changes. There are changes in the management structure, behavioral changes, and adjustments to become a competitive enterprise of the market type, which is something completely different from the enterprises in a centrally planned economy. We do not have

people trained for this. They are learning on the job. That is very costly for us. The relationship between the enterprise sphere and the economic sphere of the state must be a balanced one.

[Smolec] History has confirmed that every society that wants to expand its freedom must make certain that it is not done at the expense of duties and responsibility. In our country, unfortunately, freedom has often been confused with anarchy.

[Meciar] The freedom of action, the freedom of cognition is always limited by the limits of the freedom of another person. Under the pretext of freedom, numerous mistakes have been made in showing lack of respect for other people and violating their rights, and by increasing violence. That is not good. We need democracy rather than "democratizers." Freedom and discipline are natural sisters of the same mother. The respect for one's own freedom means to respect the freedom of others. Self-discipline is the ability to respect certain socially accepted rules. The expressions of anarchism of the type "Everything is allowed" and "You can do anything" are an expression of a lower standard of political culture, ignorance of social processes, and deformation of democracy. These "democratizers" exist. Just see how they gloat. Their ego is always above anyone else, and the value of their interests is higher than the value of interests of other people.

[Smolec] With the Western style of life, unaccustomed crime, corruption, and fear came to Slovakia. The streets are controlled by criminals, Mafia. It is rumored that the ranks of the incorruptible (politicians and policemen) are thinning fast. What does the government intend to do in this respect?

[Meciar] I have appealed to the citizens with the "clean hands" initiative. It is not a single action but rather an entire set of measures. The institutions that are founded must be capable of such cleanliness. It is true that precisely because politocracy is being replaced by the financial oligarchy and power of money that many people began to gauge the values of life by the value of money. The koruna expresses an economic relation, however, and not a human value. Human values should be the dominant ones. Corruption is a serious social ailment. It is necessary to fight it by creating a suitable social atmosphere and legislative rules. To be frank, I must admit that, from the vantage point of the atmosphere, we have not been successful. You can see that I am mostly attacked precisely from these "get-rich-quick" circles. Trying to hide it would be useless. The extent of contacts, links of numerous politicians to these interest spheres, is so large that I am not even certain whether they always act of their own will.

Regarding the issue of measures, the government submitted to the National Council of the Slovak Republic a draft of principles of the law on conflict of interests. We will see what the stand of the parliament will be. A new law on the police was adopted. The financial police was established. We are building customs offices, taxation offices, and other institutions. The taxation offices have already begun to actively seek and prosecute dishonest methods of getting rich. This struggle probably cannot ever be completely won, but it is necessary to reduce the extent of it.

[Smolec] You are not only the Slovak prime minister but also the HZDS chairman. Certain circles in Slovakia have been reckoning recently, both under cover and openly, that a road to the formation of a "broad coalition government" could be opened by splitting the HZDS, by dividing its Deputies' Club, and subsequently selecting a "suitable" person from this movement for the post of prime minister. Is it only wishful thinking, or do you admit at least some basis for such speculation?

[Meciar] The attack that is currently led against me has a somewhat different background from before. It is guided by the idea that the HZDS without Meciar would be a less dangerous partner in the event of elections, or, rather, it would not be dangerous at all. It is also reckoned that the conceivable removal of the HZDS chairman will lead to the emergence of several factions. By its disintegration, the movement that today represents a genuine great political power would actually clear space for the Party of the Democratic Left, or it would facilitate an improvement in the status of the Christian Democrats. The notions of cooperation, when the opposition calls "Broad coalition yes, but without Meciar" could cause a reaction of "Broad coalition yes, but without Weiss, without Carnogursky." Is that in order? It is sick! We cannot demand that one movement give up its representatives in favor of representatives of another movement.

The formation of factions in the Deputies' Club or a division of the Deputies' Club is one of frequent topics. It is obvious that it cannot be done from without. I am sorry that the president is conducting great consultations in this respect with some National Council of the Slovak Republic deputies and recommending specific alternatives. The HZDS has remained a viable and democratic institution. It must decide for itself what it will do. True, the speculation is continuing.

[Smolec] In conclusion, Mr. Prime Minister, I would like to present to you a proposal or, rather, a plea of the REPUBLIKA readers. They suggest that you and also other members of the Cabinet regularly answer their questions. Will you comply with this plea?

[Meciar] REPUBLIKA literally fills a great gap in our newspaper market and its offerings. After all, there were hardly any papers that would seek objectivity. REPUBLIKA has reached, in this respect, not only awareness but also the journalistic culture. Therefore, I will be glad to take the opportunity and be the first to answer the readers' questions. Moreover, I am convinced that other members of the Cabinet will be glad to accept the offer of cooperation with REPUBLIKA.

* * *

EDITOR IN CHIEF's NOTE: As you see, dear readers, while we were copying the interview and preparing it for publication, new and even more dramatic events accumulated. Take the opportunity provided by the prime minister's promise and send your questions on current topical issues to the address of the REPUBLIKA editorial office as soon as possible.

Second Installment of Moravcik's Policy Report

AU0902155494 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 4 Feb 94 p 7

[Second installment of Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik's report to parliament on 2 February: "Slovakia in the World"]

[Text]

1.2 Foreign Policy of the Slovak Republic and the Process of European Integration

The European Union

A substantial part of the strategic task of Slovak foreign policy in the relationship with the European Union [EU] and its member countries, which was the signing of the European Agreement on the Association Between the Slovak Republic and the EU, was fulfilled in 1993. Moreover, the process of its ratification has been initiated in the European Parliament and the parliaments of the member countries.

The transformation of the original association agreement with the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic to the separate association agreements with the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic has been considered more a technical than a political issue. The talks required two official meetings of experts in Brussels on 15 April and 26 May 1993. The last round of talks took place as the agreement was ratified on 23 June 1993. Because of some technical problems concerning the translation of the English working draft into the other nine languages of the Union, the agreement was not signed until 4 October 1993, during the EU Council session in Luxembourg.

Thanks to the effectively focused diplomatic preparations, the association agreement was approved by the European Parliament on 27 October, when 297 of the present 302 deputies voted in favor of the agreement, three opposed, and two abstained. The Danish Folketing approved the signing of the association agreement on 9 December 1993. The original goal of having the association agreement ratified by the end of 1993 could not be achieved because of the current situation—the EU has been preoccupied with its own problems, like the open question of the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty and also as a result of the technical obstacles connected with the translation of the association agreement into the EU official languages. It is expected that the ratification process will be completed by the end of November 1994 so that the agreement could go into effect on 1 January 1995.

Concurrently with the signing of the association agreement, the formal side of the succession of the Slovak Republic to the Provisional Agreement on Trade between the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic and the EC has been guaranteed (temporarily valid already since 1 January 1993 on the basis of the declaration of the Government of the Slovak Republic dated 7 December 1992), whereby the framework has been established for the mutual trade relations with the EU until the association agreement is ratified.

The support for development of the political dialogue on various levels between the EU and the Visegrad Four [V-4] countries attracted great attention in 1993. One of the results of this dialogue was the approval of the document "Toward a Closer Association With the Countries of Central and East Europe" at the Copenhagen EU Summit on 21-22 June 1993. The European Council accepted the appeal by the V-4 countries for an expansion of their access to the EU markets. The Slovak Republic managed to reflect the concessions obtained by the decision of the Copenhagen Summit into the provisional agreement and also into the association agreement.

A joint committee of the EU Slovak Republic (Czech Republic) convened in Bratislava on 21-22 October 1993. The Provisional Agreement on Trade was used as a framework for the assessment of the level of the trade and economic relations, but the response by the joint committee to the conclusions of the Copenhagen Summit also acts as a great stimulation for the reinforcement of our position as an associate member of the EU.

Some of the highlights of the contacts between the Slovak Republic and the EU in 1993 were the reception of Slovak President Michal Kovac by EU Commission chairman J. Delors, the reception of Slovak Prime Minister V. Meciar by EU Commission chairman J. Delors, the association agreement signing by the Slovak prime minister in Luxembourg, and the participation of Minister J. Moravcik in the political dialogue of the EU troika with the associated countries in Brussels. Sir L. Brittan, deputy chairman of the EU Commission, and EU Commissioner H. van den Broek visited the Slovak Republic in 1993.

The European Free Trade Association

The main tasks of Slovak foreign policy regarding the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) were completed in 1993 in agreement with the overall integration objectives of the Slovak Republic. The Slovak Republic became a successor to the Agreement on Free Trade between the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic and the EFTA countries by signing the succession protocol in Geneva on 19 April 1993.

The Slovak Republic paid a lot of attention to the expansion of cooperation with EFTA by means of active contacts (visit to the Slovak Republic by EFTA Secretary General G. Reisch) and the utilization of the EFTA offer of expert discussions related to the adjustment of the economic environment in the Slovak Republic to the standards of EFTA and the European economic area. The joint Slovak Republic-EFTA committee also met in St. Gallen on 23-24 April 1993.

The Council of Europe [CE]

One of the most significant achievements of Slovak foreign policy in the field of multilateral cooperation was full membership in the CE. By the adoption of resolution No. 33/93 of the CE Committee of Ministers and the signing of the Protocol on the Acceptance of the CE Statutes, the Slovak Republic on 30 June 1993 became a full member of this international government organization. The Slovak Republic confirmed all of its obligations to the CE, and it supports the process of the formation of an integrated Europe by its participation in CE activities.

CE membership brought with it certain commitments in the sense of the fulfillment of the Recommendation by the CE Parliamentary Assembly No. 1201/1993 concerning the Supplementary Protocol to the European Treaty on Human Rights and Rights of Ethnic Minorities. The Slovak Republic promised to honor the principles expressed in the Parliamentary Assembly recommendations during the process of admission to the CE.

By its resolution, the Slovak Government entrusted the members of the government with ensuring the implementation of the accepted commitments specified by the CE recommendations. At the initiative of the chairman of the Foreign Committee of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, an ad hoc working group was formed for the evaluation of the current fulfillment of Slovak obligations toward the CE.

Following its acceptance as a CE member, the Slovak Republic accepted many agreements adopted by the CE. This applies to the acceptance by the Slovak Republic of the Agreement Against the Use of Anabolic Steroids, for instance, the European Agreement on the Protection of Archaeological Heritage, or the European Agreement on Cinematographic Coproduction (the last two were signed by the Slovak Ministry of Culture). Under the auspices of the Slovak Ministry of Justice, work is in progress on the ratification of the European Agreement on Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, and on the acceptance by the Slovak Republic of Protocols Nos. 1 and 2 to this agreement. The Commission for the Ratification of the European Social Charter operates under the auspices of the Slovak Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs, and Public Works.

Thanks to the CE Support, a CE Information and Documentation Center (IDS) has been established in Bratislava in cooperation with the Slovak Foreign Ministry and interested sectors, which collects all CE documents and provides services to the members of parliament, the government, and the public at large. The IDS was ceremoniously opened on 11 October 1993.

Despite the diplomatic efforts by the Slovak Republic for the purpose of supporting the establishment of the CE Second European Center for Youth (ECM) in Bratislava, it has been decided that the Second ECM will be set up in Budapest.

The Slovak Ministry of Culture secured through the CE Cultural Heritage Committee a "Technical Assistance for Banska Stiavnica" project, in the framework of which the CE experts prepared a blueprint for the revitalization and reconstruction of the city.

Regional Cooperation

The Slovak Republic has been accepted as a full member of the Central European Initiative [CEI] as of 1 January 1993 without interruption, following the demise of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. This was confirmed, in accordance with the agreed mechanism, by the spring meeting of CEI foreign ministers in Budapest.

The CEI priorities in 1993 were to focus, above all, on the development of the economic and cultural cooperation in the framework of specific joint projects. In the course of the year, however, because of the conflict in former Yugoslavia, the trend strengthened toward the reinforcement of political consultations and questions of ethnic minority rights compared with the original pragmatic intentions of the cooperation.

On the basis of the talks of the ad hoc working group for ethnic minorities, the Italian side prepared a draft document on the protection of ethnic minority rights, which was originally supposed to be adopted as a legally binding document at a special CEI conference. At their summit in Budapest in July 1993, the prime ministers of the CEI countries authorized this group to continue their endeavors to draft a document on the protection of minority rights, but in an open form from the vantage point of the legal obligation. Because of the ongoing work on the document, the Slovak Republic is adversely inclined to the implementation of the concept of collective minority rights, a stand that corresponds to the development of opinion within the CE, as confirmed at the Vienna CE summit.

Despite our support for the CEI orientation in the direction of the development of the economic infrastructure by means of regional projects, the intended goals have not yet been achieved in those areas of cooperation that have been selected as priority ones by the EU and the EBRD [European Bank for Reconstruction and Development] (power generation, telecommunications, transport, environment). The Slovak Republic has pointed out the unsatisfactory situation in financing the infrastructure projects at the sessions of the CEI Administration Board at the EBRD. The Slovak Republic has

supported the idea of the reorganization of the administration system within the bank in the interest of an improvement in relations between the bank and its customers.

At the fall meeting of the foreign ministers of the CEI countries in Debrecen, the Slovak Republic favorably responded to the Italian initiative of a pilot project of establishing industrial zones, which would begin by a study and coordination of the legislative conditions for their implementation, first in Slovakia and subsequently in other CEI countries.

The focal point of the activity of the CEI working group for culture, education, and youth exchange, chaired by the Slovak Republic, was the realization of the project "The Year of European Baroque." This successful project, in the framework of which seven exhibitions were organized in various CEI countries, is to continue with three more exhibitions in 1994.

The regional association known as the "Working Commonwealth of Danubian Countries (PSPK)" associates 22 entities (federal countries, independent countries, provinces, regions) located in the Danube River valley. The Slovak Republic has been a full-fledged member of the commonwealth since 1991.

The Slovak Republic takes part in the cooperation in almost all working groups and subgroups through the representatives of individual sectors. The Slovak Republic chairs and coordinates the work in two subgroups—the "Territorial Arrangement" and the "Land Protection."

In 1993, the Slovak Republic was host to the fourth conference of the government heads of the PSPK member countries, at which the work of the PSPK was evaluated, and the orientation of cooperation was specified for the next year in the form of a recommendation. Within the framework of the conference, chaired by the Slovak prime minister, bilateral talks also took place with the heads of the delegations from Bavaria, Baden-Wuerttemberg, Upper Austria, Lower Austria, Croatia, and Hungary.

1.3 Relations Between the Slovak Republic and the United Nations

One of the key areas of the activities of Slovak foreign policy in the multilateral sphere is the activity within the framework of the United Nations, to which the Slovak Republic was admitted on 19 January 1993. The principal precondition for working effectively in the United Nations was the complex succession to multilateral contractual documents held by the UN secretary general.

The Slovak Republic was substantially involved in 1993 in the area of maintaining international peace and security, above all, by its presence in various UN peace operations:

UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force]—former Yugoslavia, a logistics battalion of the Slovak Army, 419 men strong, is operating in the Daruvar region and should be expanded by 40 more Army members by 30 December 1993 and another 141 on 28 February 1994, so that the Slovak Republic will have a total of 600 soldiers in this mission.

UNAVEM [UN Angola Verification Mission]—Angola—six military observers from the Slovak Army.

UNOMIL [UN Observer Mission in Liberia]—Liberia—ten military observers from the Slovak Army.

UNOMUR [UN Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda]—Uganda-Rwanda—five military observers from the Slovak Army.

UNGCI [expansion unknown]—Iraq—four members of the Slovak Police Corps.

The Slovak Foreign Ministry and the Slovak Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York rapidly assess the applications by Slovak businesses for permits issued by the appropriate sanctions committee of the UN Security Council so Slovak economic interests are harmed as little as possible by the sanctions introduced by the United Nations against the countries that threatened or violated international peace and security. The Slovak Foreign Ministry OMEO [expansion unknown] prepared, in cooperation with the Slovak Danubian Navigation Lines, a list of Slovak monitors who will accompany ship convoys through Yugoslav territory. This list was approved by SAMCOMM [Sanctions Assistance Missions Communication] in Brussels and passed on for approval by the UN Sanction Committee No. 724 (1991). Because of the economic losses caused by the UN sanctions against Yugoslavia, on the basis of Article 50 of the UN Charter, the Slovak Republic has asked the UN Security Council for consultations regarding compensation for the losses it has sustained. The Slovak Foreign Ministry, through the Slovak Permanent Mission at the United Nations in New York, has asked for the dispatching of an expert hired by the UNDP [UN Development Program] to assess the losses. The losses have been calculated in cooperation with the individual sectors and submitted to the UN Committee. On 26 October 1993, the Slovak permanent representative at the United Nations submitted a note to the Security Council chairman enumerating all Slovak losses caused by the sanctions against Yugoslavia, which was published in the form of Security Council document No. S/26648.

Within the framework of efforts to solve the problems of sanctions, several diplomatic actions have been taken in the UN system. The Slovak foreign minister emphasized in his address to the 48th Session of the UN General Assembly the need for a solution to the economic impact of the sanctions on the most affected countries. Similarly, following an initiative by the Slovak Permanent Mission at the United Nations in New York, the problem of economic losses resulting from the sanctions against Yugoslavia was added to the agenda of the 48th Session of the UN General Assembly. The motion was

discussed and approved by the plenum. The countries affected by the sanctions pointed out the long process of the approval for export and transit permits for Yugoslavia.

Since the Slovak Danubian Navigation Lines is actually the body most affected by the problems resulting from the sanctions, operative consultations are taking place with its representative concerning a solution to the most acute problems. Since Security Council Resolution No. 820 came into effect, the Slovak Foreign Ministry carries out the entire process of the issue to Slovak businesses of UN export or transit permits for Yugoslavia. It also keeps in contact with the enterprises and provides them with all important information for the purpose of alleviating the damage.

Because of the situation in the Disarmament Conference, the Slovak Foreign Ministry continues to claim its right of succession to the CSFR in the Disarmament Conference. The Disarmament Conference membership is still frozen because of the unresolved questions regarding the expected expansion of the Disarmament Conference membership (the question of Iraq). The disapproval of the "parcel" method of admitting new members so far prevented a solution to the situation in favor of the Slovak Republic.

In the sphere of armament and disarmament control in 1993, the Slovak Foreign Ministry focused on promoting the interests of the Slovak Republic at the UN, where, by its work at the 48th Session of the UN General Assembly, it joined all of the significant activities, supporting peace solutions to problems and reducing tension in individual regions of the world, and implementing UN resolutions for a truce during the Olympic games and the year of Olympism. The foreign policy of the Slovak Republic also became involved within the framework of the UN system in solving the problems of openness in armament. In the context of solving the problems of openness in armament, the Slovak Republic submitted to the secretary general complete information for the so-called Register of Conventional Arms for 1992.

In 1993 the Slovak Republic began the full implementation of the regulations of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons. Arrangements were made for the participation of representatives at the Preparatory Committee at The Hague and, on the basis of its recommendations in accordance with the Slovak Action Plan, an interdepartmental Slovak preparatory commission was established for the implementation of the treaty. At this time, the introductory initiatives of this body are taking place, aimed at the final ratification of the treaty in the National Council of the Slovak Republic for the specific conditions in the Slovak Republic.

The Slovak Foreign Ministry enlists expert participation at the talks of the Government Expert Group regarding the possible control measures of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Biological Weapons, where a representative of the Slovak Republic acts as a member of the expert process. The Slovak Republic joined the appeal to call an assessment conference for the aforementioned Treaty already in the first stages of this initiative and during the 48th Session of the UN General Assembly.

In the interest of getting involved in the work of the institutions dealing with the issue of nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction and rocket technology and the regulation of exports and imports of material, technology, and equipment with dual purpose, Slovak Foreign Ministry representatives took part in the session of the Core Group (against arms proliferation) in Oslo.

The Slovak Foreign Ministry, in cooperation with the Slovak Defense Ministry and the Atomic Energy Commission, organized participation in the session of the Preparatory Committee of the Assessment Conference of the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons in Southampton.

In the context of this activity, the ministry gave its support to the endeavors by some countries to implement the validity of the treaty without any time limit. The Slovak Foreign Ministry prepared its concept of the issue and presented it at the session of the appropriate committee during the 48th Session of the UN General Assembly.

An important activity was the preparation of the participation of a government delegation, led by the foreign minister, in the session of the UN General Assembly on 2-6 October 1993, appearances of the delegation members in the UN committees, and the arrangements for various multi and bilateral talks, above all, with the secretary general and other leading UN officials and heads of state delegations, participants in the General Assembly. The orientation of the work on the preparation of the trip and appearance by the Slovak Foreign Ministry state secretary in the UN General Assembly committees and talks with the UN secretary general deputies was similar.

The Foreign Ministry submitted at the UN General Assembly an application of the Slovak Republic for a reduction of its membership contribution to the UN budget. A reduction and adjustment from 0.18 to 0.13 percent is expected.

The question of the membership of the Slovak Republic in the UN Statistical Commission was also dealt with at the 48th Session of the UN General Assembly, and alternative possibilities were discussed for securing the UN presence in the Slovak Republic (the establishment of a UN information component in the Slovak Republic).

An important element of the work was the preparations for the establishment of a Slovak Permanent Mission at the international organizations in Vienna.

Many activities were oriented toward the sphere of specialized UN programs, particularly the following:

UNITAR [Institute for Training and Research]—in cooperation with the Slovak Permanent Mission in Geneva, the supply of information on the organization of courses on multilateral diplomacy in Geneva.

UN Graduate Studies Program.

UNU—UN University.

Commission on Transnational Corporations.

Intergovernmental Working Group of Experts on International Standards of Accounting and Reporting.

EUREKA—the production of information on Eureka programs with the objective of activating Slovak researchers to participate in the top research programs. After the publication, specific information was provided to the interested parties.

Departement des Affaires Humanitaires—Geneva.

International Center for Family Studies.

Government Committee for the Physically Disabled.

Public Administration—the collection of information oriented towards the territorial arrangement and modernization of public administration, and arrangements for the participation in international actions by competent institutions, the dispatch of experts, the circulation of information on vacant positions within the framework of the UN structure to the concerned institutions and reporting job candidates from Slovakia.

Characteristic of the last third of the year, as well as for 1994 and 1995, is the intensification of the work on the preparations for the Fourth World Conference on Women. For the Slovak Foreign Ministry it translates into a need for the coordination of its activities abroad, the methodical modification of and help in the preparation of the national reports for the Fourth World Conference on Women. It implies for the Slovak Foreign Ministry the need to coordinate its work abroad, methodical guidance and help in the preparation of the national reports for the Fourth World Conference on Women, and the preparation of the documentation on behalf of the Slovak Foreign Ministry sector.

UNDCP [UN Drug Control Program]—Among the important activities in this field was the signing of the regional laboratory Balkans Route [Balkanska cesta] project. The project is intended for use in the implementation of narcotics control, for the establishment and equipment of laboratories, for increasing their capacity, and for the training and education of their staff.

Ministers Explain Departure From Cabinet Meeting

LD1502212694 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 15 Feb 94

[Excerpts] According to a report by the Press Agency of the Slovak Republic, Deputy Premier Roman Kovac and Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik left the Cabinet meeting five minutes after it started. As the agency went on to say, according to unconfirmed reports, they do not intend to attend the Cabinet meetings before their position is clarified. Minister Jozef Moravcik is said to have taken his leave. Our colleages Dagmar Bazlikova and Michal Tvarozek interviewed the two Cabinet members late this morning.

[begin recording] Mr. Deputy Prime Minister, what is on the agenda of the Cabinet meeting that prevents you and the foreign minister from attending the meeting?

[Kovac] The prime minister's opening address included a number of accusations against us, and the prime minister asked us to leave the Cabinet meeting. Immediately after our departure, the debate of the regular 17-point agenda concerning privatization started. It was said that, if we did not leave the Cabinet meeting, the Cabinet would end its meeting and there would be a consultative meeting of some ministers—that is, a consultative meeting of the ministers excluding us. We complied with the prime minister's wish and left the Cabinet meeting in order not to complicate the course of their debate. [passage omitted]

[Tvarozek] Mr. Deputy Prime Minister, do you not perceive this as some sort of a psychological war—the prime minister declared that he expected that you would leave the Cabinet voluntarily.

[Kovac] I think that if we leave voluntarily it would be a certain admission of mistakes committed by us in our posts. I do not think that either Minister Moravcik or I committed mistakes that would lead us to the conclusion that we do not do our work properly.

There is yet another fact here: Because we, together with deputies' initiative [Alternative of Political Realism], proposed a certain solution to the current political situation, there is a question of whether the prime minister will make a decision about our future membership in the Cabinet or whether he will not make such a decision. He really has the right to choose colleagues whom he fully trusts. [passage omitted]

[Moravcik] I would like to add one thing. In his opening speech, the prime minister said that he would ask the Prosecutor's Office to investigate whether our course of action was in accordance with the law and whether regulations of the penal code might be used to deal with it. I would like to say that such a way of thinking is absurd because there is our parliament here to tackle political crises. That means that, when a way out of the current internal political problems is being sought, the solution must be sought through the parliament. This is

the fundamental principle of parliamentary democracy. When we took our course of action, we acted fully in accordance with the Constitution. [passage omitted]

[Tvarozek] Shouldn't the current situation be characterized as a parliamentary crisis followed by a government crisis?

[Kovac] It is possible to say that the Cabinet will continue its activities only with great difficulty because all of the measures they will present to the parliament will pose considerable problems there. I think that a number of officials of the parliamentary parties have made statements on this issue.

[Tvarozek] Mr. Minister, according to a report by the press agency, you are said to be taking your leave now.

[Moravcik] To be honest, I would really welcome to have leave, from my personal point of view. However, these days it is not appropriate to take leave.

SDL Leader Views Current Political Scene

LD1502203794 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 15 Feb 94

[Report on news conference with Peter Weiss, chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left, SDL, including recorded interview with Weiss by correspondent Ivan Samel]

[Excerpts] The political crisis provoked by the incompetence and unwillingness of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] to cooperate is gaining momentum. Peter Weiss, chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] opened today's regular news briefing with these words.

Apart from the present internal arguments between the opposition and the government, journalists focused on tomorrow's 26th Session of the [Slovak] National Council and the proposed constitutional bill, submitted yesterday [14 Feb], to shorten the parliamentary term. At the end of the news conference, SDL chairman Peter Weiss answered some questions by correspondent Ivan Samel.

[Samel] Chairman, it seems that the political crisis in Slovakia is nearing a climax. What solutions are going to be sought by the SDL as it enters this period?

[Weiss] It must be said that this political crisis was provoked by the HZDS itself, through its inability to democratically manage the emerging different strands of opinion within the party and its leadership's subjective lack of readiness to cooperate with other political parties. I do not understand the hysterics that took hold of a section of the mass media when the possibility was mentioned of expressing no confidence in this government. I do not know why Slovakia should be in danger, as today's headlines in the REPUBLIKA note, just because one group of government officials would be replaced in the next elections. This would happen if a vote of no-confidence is passed in accordance with the Constitution.

After all, Slovakia is not Meciar, and Meciar is not Slovakia. Our premise is that it is first of all necessary to call early elections. This is the basic factor that would settle the internal political situation. The second condition to ease the internal political situation is, in our opinion, the passing of the large-scale privatization bill, in the form in which it was agreed with opposition forces. [passage omitted]

[Weiss] There are many considerations that favor the holding of the fall elections. First, it would not be good if the Slovak election campaign were to run in parallel with the election campaign in the Hungarian Republic, as the center of attention would shift only to ethnic matters and national passions could rise. Moreover, it is necessary to gain some time to correct the basic political mistakes and mistaken decisions of this government. If elections were to be called for June, there would be a permanent election campaign starting from February. It might lead to destabilization of the situation in society, meaning that all attention would be focused only on the election campaign and not on the resolution of the problems that must be tackled.

Finally, citizens should be shown that there are other ways of governing and modes of cooperation between political parties—besides the model of one against everyone—and of the promotion only of one's own political view and interest. [passage omitted]

Documents Signed on Ukrainian Construction Work

LD1702101094 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0900 GMT 17 Feb 94

[Text] Protocols on an agreement concerning the completion of the construction of the mining and processing combine enterprise at Dolinskaya in Krivoy Rog was signed in Poprad today by Jan Ducky, Slovak minister of economy, and Hrihoriy Ousalenko, deputy Ukrainian minister of industry. The documents update previous agreements and protocols signed by the Governments of the former USSR and the former CSSR.

The East Slovak Ironworks has undertaken to complete the combine enterprise. About 1,500 Slovak workers will take part in the construction and assembly work at the Dolinskaya enterprise.

U.S. Daily Said To Discredit Poles

LD1602222594 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 2000 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Relayed by TV Polonia Network]

[Text] The purpose of THE WASHINGTON POST article was to discredit us in the eyes of the Russians, who are our number-one partner in special equipment trade, Cenzin [arms trading company] Chairman Tadeusz Bednarek has told Panorama. On Monday THE WASHINGTON POST reported that 10 years ago Poland used to sell high-class Soviet military equipment to the United States.

[Begin recording] [Rajmund Szwonder, Democratic Left Alliance senator] This case concerns a story that is about 10 years old, isn't it? In my home town of Laskarzew, they say that reheated pancakes are indigestible even when eaten with Russian caviar.

[Tadeusz Bednarek, Cenzin chairman] Cenzin sold weapons to the United States, but they were museum pieces and weapons items for collectors.

[Correspondent] What about reexports from what was then the Soviet Union?

[Bednarek] There were instances of this kind, but these exports, these shipments from Poland, went to credible, verified end users in the recipient country.

[Correspondent] So what happened after that was up to the recipient?

[Bednarek] Well, the supplier cannot check on this for a long time. A credible end user is necessary for the issue of an export permit. Then you check whether the goods have reached their destination. But we are unable to check what some countries went on to do with the purchased weapons.

I would also like to emphasise that these were not components, as the WASHINGTON POST suggests, of strategic weapons, nor were they the latest technologies.

[Szwonder] The gun scandal [Polish officials found not guilty of alleged arms trade offenses by a U.S. court], of which to a degree I was a hero, the Burmese scandal [U.S. ban on sale of Polish helicopters to Burma], and the current scandal amazingly coincide with our export successes, even if only minor ones.

[Bednarek] I believe that the publication in the WASHINGTON POST and the whole press campaign around this subject is unambiguously aimed at discrediting us in the eyes of our Russian partner, who is Poland's number-one partner in special equipment trade. [end recording]

Pawlak, Moldovan Minister Discuss Cooperation

LD1602171694 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1229 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Feb—Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak received today Moldovan Foreign Minister Ion Botnaru, the government press office announced.

Talks focused on the need to intensify our economic cooperation and to undertake joint enterprises in foreign markets. The Moldovan minister considers the setting up of favorable conditions for business a priority for his country. He encourages businessmen from Poland to be among the first investors.

The interlocutors referred to consultations in progress between our delegations preceding the signing of agreements on the protection of investments and on avoiding double taxation. They said that the agreements will give a new impulse to mutual cooperation.

While promoting possibilities in Moldova, Minister Botnaru underscored favorable conditions for the medical industry. Moldova makes medicines and specialized medical equipment. According to the minister, wide possibilities for participating in joint ventures are being opened to the Polish partners.

Prime Minister Pawlak drew attention to problems existing in financial settlements. The idea of joint ventures in the banking sector was examined. The possibility of opening embassies in Warsaw and Chisinau was also discussed.

Olechowski Addresses Senate on East Europe Policy

LD1702103094 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0926 GMT 17 Feb 94

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Feb—Addressing a meeting of the Senate Foreign Affairs Commission today, Andrzej Olechowski, minister of foreign affairs, presented the main assumptions of Poland's eastern policy.

Olechowski said that the policy toward East Europe should focus on developing good relations with countries important from the point of view of Polish political and economic interests and the country's security.

"Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, the Baltic states, Moldova, and Kazakhstan form the group of states that are of particular interest to us," Olechowski said.

According to the minister, support for political and military stability in the region and the creation of new possibilities for beneficial economic cooperation are among the important goals of Poland's eastern policy.

Kolodziejczyk Comments on Polish Security

AU1402102794 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 1 Feb 94 pp 1-2

[Interview with Minister of National Defense Piotr Kolodziejczyk by Janusz B. Grochowski; place and date not given: "Poland's Security Is In Our Hands"]

[Text] [Grochowski] Poland has accepted the "Partnership for Peace" [PFP] program at last. Why?

[Kolodziejczyk] Because there is no alternative to it and because clear criteria for participating in this program—in other words, democracy, the market economy, democratic control over the Army, and clear budget provisions—were finally spelled out. I am sure these basic features will convince our neighbors, particularly those in the East, that Poland has finally entered the road to democracy and is making fast progress along it.

[Grochowski] These criteria are obvious, and they were probably not the reason the U.S. delegation left the Belweder Palace in a worried state. Did you not seek a clarification of these criteria in Berlin? Did Foreign Minister Olechowski not do so in Washington?

[Kolodziejczyk] There is one thing I would like to explain. Neither the president nor the foreign minister displayed any nervousness. However, we believed that, as Europeans, we have the right to say what we think of the PFP and security in general. The original version of the PFP program was very vague, and clear provisions were only incorporated at the very last moment, following sharp criticism from Warsaw.

I hope we will shortly be acquainted with other PFP criteria as well, mainly the technical ones, and, of course, we will do our best to fulfill them, provided our Western partners are willing to indulge in scientific cooperation with us.

But more important for me are Clinton's words uttered in Prague whereby, in the event of a clear threat, the NATO border will extend to the Bug River. That is a very tangible outcome of the offensive we waged before the Brussels summit.

[Grochowski] Let us be frank. The NATO heads of state left Brussels in a satisfied state, but they left empty-handed. The Polish press said that a "Partnership for Tranquillity" had been achieved. Tranquillity for whom? Not for us! Perhaps the only purpose was to calm the consciences of Western politicians?

[Kolodziejczyk] Our press reacted nervously, which is understandable, but it looks like there is a genuine desire to implement the PFP, and quickly. I am beginning to fear that we will not be able to make use of all of the offers that have already come in and are still doing so.

[Grochowski] The PFP calls for a cooperation accord with NATO.

[Kolodziejczyk] There is a race going on here, which I disagree with. The world's media are wondering whether Lithuania or Romania will be the first to conclude this accord.

[Grochowski] Lithuania has won!

[Kolodziejczyk] Poland's approach toward this matter is very serious, so we are giving ourselves several weeks' time in order to hold talks and prepare an offer of cooperation that suits our possibilities and is serious enough to be considered and implemented by the other side.

[Grochowski] What are the actual advantages to be gained from the PFP? Not much is being said about them.

[Kolodziejczyk] But the objective of the PFP has been mentioned, and that is Poland's incorporation into the European security system.

[Grochowski] But what happens before then?

[Kolodziejczyk] We must realize that we have a certain road to follow, involving many changes, starting with such prosaic ones as changing map symbols and ending with complicated technical changes. The key problem is to standardize our communications, command, firepower control, and reconnaissance systems with those in NATO.

At the same time, we have to alter the Polish mentality because it is we who are entering NATO structures, and we have to adapt to the customs prevalent there. I do not think this will be difficult. We have an Army of good specialists, prepared to think on their own. But there is no doubt that it will be useful to have staff command exercises, as suggested by NATO, carried out on the basis of computer systems. All of this takes time, but the Polish Army is intellectually prepared for it, and this road is not going to be excessively long.

[Grochowski] Talking about the need to adapt to NATO requirements, we often think of the Warsaw Pact, where weapons were standardized to a very large degree, and even Army organizational structures were the same. In the West, compatibility does not mean that there is only one type of weapon in all of the armies. One reason for this is that each country has its own weapons industry, whose products it would like to sell.

[Kolodziejczyk] Of course. The point is not to standardize our weapons with NATO. Weapons are not even standardized inside NATO. The point is to bring our technological standards in line with NATO's.

[Grochowski] Do you expect Poland to have broader access to technology that is still on Western secret lists?

[Kolodziejczyk] I hope so. We have been very vociferous in this matter. It turns out that Minister Olechowski succeeded in starting concrete talks, and a technical team from the United States is arriving next week. I think it

would be inconsistent if this team merely told us what NATO standards are and then left us to our own devices. We expect help, and I hope we will get it.

[Grochowski] Is this NATO business not a little like a cat-and-mouse game? Everyone knows that integration with NATO requires huge funds. Yet the Polish Army simply does not have any money and is fighting for survival.

[Kolodziejczyk] Indeed, the present budget does not even let us maintain present standards. We are sinking even lower, though there is really nowhere to sink to. I hope the budget is amended.

[Grochowski] The National Defense Commission demanded an 800-billion zloty [Z] increase in the defense budget.

[Kolodziejczyk] I appreciate the Commission's understanding of the needs of the Army, but, in fact, its needs are far greater if we are supposed to be a military partner for NATO. What is more, in subsequent budgets, defense expenditure must exceed 3 percent of the GNP or our Army will cease to exist.

However, the problem possesses a broader dimension. I asked the Council of Ministers whether greater emphasis should be applied to integration with NATO political structures. There is such a possibility—after all, Spain and Portugal belong to NATO political structures but not to its military ones. That alone guarantees that NATO will endow these countries with its attention should a conflict occur. Therefore, this is a way of improving the Poles' sense of security and of gaining enough time to modernize our Army at a pace permitted by our finances. But such modernization is impossible if defense expenditure is less than 3 percent of the GNP, and there is proof of that.

[Grochowski] What proof, Minister?

[Kolodziejczyk] According to General Staff data, reduced military spending makes our Army's low technical standards even lower, whereas higher expenditure allows us to modernize our equipment and catch up with Western armies.

[Grochowski] None of the politicians with whom I have spoken agree with the 3 percent you mention. They insist that the Army should get whatever it really needs.

[Kolodziejczyk] I agree with them, and I hold them to their word. The Army needs three times the amount of money it is now getting in order to achieve by the end of the century a technical standard that prevails in Western armies.

[Grochowski] I have the impression that the defense budget is viewed not in ternm of the Army's real needs, but in terms of the need to rescue the Polish defense industry.

[Kolodziejczyk] It seems to me that our defense industry has gotten in the habit of staging strikes to force the Army to buy equipment it does not need. This practice leads nowhere. All it does is demoralize enterprise managers and make their products unattractive to the Polish Army and to foreign clients.

Why is the Czech aviation industry functioning so well? The Vodohady plant, which I visited last week, has orders worth $300 million. The Czechs are selling fighter-trainer aircraft to various countries and displaying a flexibility and zest that are completely absent in the whole of our industry, not just the aviation industry. I asked them how they did it. They told me something to the effect that, if one does not help oneself, the government certainly will not do so. One can strike, they said, but at what cost?

This therapy did the trick. Their contracts for this year involve the production of at least 50 aircraft for the Czech Army and for export. These aircraft can compete with our own "Irida" any day. They are fitted with optical-electronic equipment and suspension locks [zamki powieszenia] in accordance with NATO standards.

In the meantime, there is a misunderstanding about the offer from our own Mielec aviation plant. Instead of a fighter-trainer, we are being offered a simple trainer. That is why I think it was a mistake to waste money on prolonging the life of plants that are unwilling to help themselves, and I will make sure I do not repeat the same mistake. That sounds brutal, but, with the Army's present condition, I see no other way. We must not waste money.

[Grochowski] The Polish armaments industry has been thrown into deep water without being taught to swim beforehand.

[Kolodziejczyk] The Czech Government did not help Czech aviation plants until it saw that these plants were helping themselves.

[Grochowski] I fear that our armed forces will also come under pressure to manage on their own and make the best possible use of whatever funds they receive because there is no secret about the fact that the Army has a lot of property that is little used and very costly to maintain.

[Kolodziejczyk] The idea of appointing a Military Property Agency was twice shelved by previous governments. We will make a fresh attempt to appoint this Agency, taking into account various proposals that have been presented in the meantime. If this government refuses to create this agency for whatever reason, we will insist on an alternative solution to relieve the military budget of the Z2 trillion that are currently spent every year on maintaining superfluous military property.

[Grochowski] General Wilecki said that, right now, the Army is guarding what he delicately describes as sleepy garrisons. Are there many of them?

[Kolodziejczyk] About 14. The description is very appropriate to the situation. Some garrisons will be not so much put to sleep as eliminated altogether, especially in the west of the country. But, at the same time, one would like to see an influx of funds to restore the infrastructure in those regions where this is necessary, especially in the eastern zone and the Krakow military district.

[Grochowski] You have said in no uncertain terms that the Army cannot afford to act as a charity any longer. If necessary, the Army will vacate barracks that are not in use.

[Kolodziejczyk] I am close to reaching such a decision, which is a very difficult one because it is Polish property we are talking about. I consider myself responsible for national defense. Other matters are in the hands of the members of the government, and they should at least try to cooperate with the Army on the issues for which they are responsible.

[Grochowski] Another problem is that of the apartments that belong to the Defense Ministry but are occupied by people no longer connected to the Defense Ministry. How will that problem be solved?

[Kolodziejczyk] The law on accommodation for members of the armed forces is almost ready, and, in early February, we will discuss it with other ministries, especially with the ministry of spatial economy, the Ministry of Construction, And the Ministry of Finance. After that, we will table it before parliament, with the request that it be passed quickly because the use of military accommodation by nonmilitary people represents a waste of Z1.87 trillion for the Army budget.

Of course, we will never regain all of this money, but if the apartments in question are utilized in accordance with the law, we will at least have funds to build more accommodation. We need 13,000 apartments.

[Grochowski] Is there a danger that the restructuring of the Defense Ministry and armed forces will be stopped because of a shortage of money?

[Kolodziejczyk] That is a complicated issue. The armed forces and command systems must be reorganized, but, fortunately, that is not as expensive as it seems. The real problem is with relocating personnel. This cannot be done without money, and of course there is no money.

The modest funds we have at our disposal must be spent on improving the technical condition and mobility of the armed forces. That also solves the problem of providing equal security for all borders because today we are in no danger of any unexpected conflict. Therefore, there is time to prepare a defense system, and there is no need to establish military garrisons of equal strength at every single border.

[Grochowski] At the end of 1994, there was supposed to have been a review of the changes inside the Ministry. What were the results?

[Kolodziejczyk] The review has not been finished. The results are still being assessed. Right now, those spheres that have been placed under Jerzy Milewski's responsibility are being reorganized. This has nothing to do with shifting the burden of responsibility or transferring tasks from the civilian to the military spheres, which would be contrary to the principle of democratic control over the armed forces.

[Grochowski] Some politicians claim you are losing control over what is happening in your ministry.

[Kolodziejczyk] To this very day, I do not accept outside interference. Everything going on in the ministry for which I am constitutionally responsible is under my complete control. These are completely unfounded rumors. If I really had no control over the Ministry, there would be no point in my staying in Warsaw and being a puppet. I will never agree to that.

[Grochowski] I do not mean pressure from outside. I have in mind the transfer of too many powers from the civilian to the military sphere.

[Kolodziejczyk] That is fiction. Nothing like that has happened.

[Grochowski] Well, let us discuss the question of defense vice ministers. Why do you think there are enough vice ministers today? In the past, there have been as many as seven defense vice ministers, and every single one of them had his hands full.

[Kolodziejczyk] There are enough vice ministers for present needs. If needs increase, we will make personnel changes. After all, we experiment all the time. But one thing is sure; we are going to create several posts of director general, a post that exists in the defense ministries of many countries. I am not joking when I say this, but we also need one under secretary of state to make sure that the government benches are full during Sejm debates. Such an under secretary would be responsible for contacts with the Sejm committees. That is something that takes up a lot of time, and the rules forbid the director of the Parliamentary Bureau to deal with it.

[Grochowski] Politicians insist that all they want is to make sure that the Army remains under civilian control, as is the rule in democratic countries.

[Kolodziejczyk] They are right. I agree with them. But our democracy is not yet stable, and there is still a temptation to use the Army for political purposes. All of the parties would like to influence the Army, which is a very bad thing in a transitional period such as ours. The Army must have time to reestablish itself in new forms.

But once these new forms have solidified ,just as the state's democratic structures have done, and the responsibility of politicians has increased, I see no reason that any victorious coalition should not have increased control over the Army. This is not just a question of possibility but of responsibility for one's deeds, and our experience in this regard is not the best, unfortunately.

[Grochowski] Right now, only a handful of politicians understand the functioning of an army. No wonder, for where could they have learned it? Is it not worth bringing them to the ministry for a little instruction, although I fear their price might be high?

[Kolodziejczyk] Any politician wishing to be responsible for defense matters should first of all be taken to the National Defense Academy in order to acquire a little theoretical knowledge. Only then could he perform good practical work in the ministry.

[Grochowski] You are implementing reforms that require legislative changes. Do you not fear that the Sejm might block the reforms?

[Kolodziejczyk] Yes. If the Sejm presents rational reasons why the reforms should not go through, I will accept them. But if the Sejm blocks the reform for the sole purpose of playing a political game, as was the case in the past, we might reach a point where I have no further possibility of action, in which case... But, knowing how most of the members of the Sejm National Defense Committee think, I do not expect major difficulties. I do not think this Committee will play political games and set itself at a distance from defense matters.

[Grochowski] You have already issued two warnings about resigning. How serious are you about it?

[Kolodziejczyk] As long as there is a chance to do something, I will do it. But, if my hands are tied, I will not pretend I am still a minister. That would be alien to my mentality and character. But there is no danger of that for the time being.

Sejm Views Implications of Partnership for Peace

AU1702160394 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 16 Feb 94 p 2

[Article by Jan Forowicz: "The Sejm on Partnership for Peace"]

[Text] Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk and Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski have held talks with the Sejm Committee for National Defense and the Sejm Committee for Foreign Affairs in order to discuss tasks stemming from Poland's participation in the Partnership for Peace [PFP] program and the significance of this program for Polish security. Needless to say, one conlusion from this meeting is that it is "too early to turn our swords into ploughshares," as Minister Olechowski put it.

The meeting was chaired by Bronislaw Geremek, who said that the country was now entering the stage of actually implementing the PFP program that was signed by Prime Minister Pawlak. That, he explained, was the purpose of inviting both ministers to the meeting, so that they could report on preparations to implement it. Minister Olechowski briefly described the benefits of the PFP program and reported that a special Foreign Ministry-Defense Ministry team had prepared a plan of technical military cooperation with other PFP partners, and that a plenipotentiary has been chosen to coordinate undertakings and negotiate preliminary agreements with PFP partners.

Minister Kolodziejczyk said that, since Poland's acceptance of the PFP, NATO countries have made Poland numerous offers of cooperation. He also noted that this cooperation would inevitably involve costs. If the West cooperates with us, will we have enough funds? he asked. After all, changing the parameters of communications, command, and reconnaissance systems to NATO standards costs money.

Eleven deputies asked questions. Deputy Janusz Onyszkiewicz [Democratic Union) wanted to know what Russia's attitude toward the PFP was and what difference it would make to Polish politics if Russia joins or fails to join the PFP. He expressed the fear that the emergent rivalry among the Visegrad Group countries to be the first to join the PFP might upset our own PFP objective. Deputy J. Szmajdzinski (Democratic Left Alliance) asked whether this Defense-Interior Ministry team contained room for representatives of the Industry Ministry interested in producing suitable weapons. Tomasz Nalecz (Union of Labor) feared that the cost of joining the PFP this year would be too high, while Bronislaw Komorowski (Democratic Union) asked how much other Visegrad countries would be spending. Aleksandra Malachowska (Polish Peasant Party) suspected that the Polish Government was overtly optimistic and had exaggerated the meaning of the gestures made by various Western partners following Poland's acceptance of the PFP.

The ministers tried to dispel fears as calmly as they could, without underplaying various complications and without attempting to conceal various uncertainties concerning the implementation of the the PFP with Poland's participation. They expressed a cautious hope that Russia would ultimately join the PFP, naturally in a role that suits its power status.

They also spoke about the indivisibility of European security and the parallel nature of various measures intended to increase security guarantees. Minister Kolodziejczyk said that the Polish aim to join NATO is expressed in many other undertakings, some of which have already been completed, such as the conclusion of treaties with neighboring countries. Minister Kolodziejczyk recalled that our emergent links to the Western European Union are seen not as an alternative to the PFP, but as a complement and addition to it. Joint military exercises that have been suggested recently, such as a possible German-Polish-Dutch one or a joint Visegrad Group exercise in Ustka in June, already suggested a long time ago, could play a similar role.

The defense minister also indicated a reform of NATO. It is necessary for Poland to present opinions on this

subject because this would help establish a path to this reform. He added that Poland should have representations at NATO facilities in Brussels. Some 100 officers should be employed there, capable of maintaining contacts with approximately 300 NATO institutions and agencies. Over a dozen such people should leave for Brussels in 1994. Kolodziejczyk once again mentioned the issue of unexpected budget expenditure. The government, he said, had not decided on a budget amendment that would permit a more convenient financing of Polish representations to NATO.

Solidarity Says Union Can 'Strike Until Victory'

WS1602150994 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16 Feb 94 p 2

[Article by B.I.W.: "Ready For a 'Strike Until Victory'"]

[Text] The Presidium of the National Committee [KK] of "Solidarity" ["S"] stated that "the success of the 9 February demonstration, the social support that was achieved, must not be wasted." Today the KK will make a decision concerning further action of the trade union. "Marian Krzaklewski stated that a strategic strike would be possible; such a strike would force the authorities to make decisions favorable to employees. Nothing seems to show that this demonstration has made any impression on the government, which we expected: There are no preparations for talks or any serious corrections of the budget," we learned from KK Press Spokesman Piotr Zak after the Tuesday [15 February] session of the Presidium.

On Tuesday, Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak replied to Krzaklewski (who proposed negotiations in order to "avoid the escalation of social tension") that "a bad tradition, inherited from the former years, is the transferring of each conflict to the central level." This is why their meeting "should be preceded by a debate on the scope of the problems that may be discussed in a different mode and that call for an official meeting." He added that difficult problems should be resolved "in a working mode" and that such talks are already being held by the Labor Ministry.

For "S," Pawlak's letter is no answer, as it were. He already proposed that they resume negotiations on social guarantees, but, in this matter, "they presented their opinion and submitted conditions that have so far been impossible to implement."

What can a "strategic strike" be like? "We realize that it is no longer the time or not yet the time for us to be able to "galvanize to action" the entire country. However, we are a well-organized and strong union and we are able to continue a strike until we win. One can imagine, for example, the strike of several branches or several regions of great importance to the country, or a progressive strike in all the regions of "S." Or merging all these three strike forms and demonstrations," says Zak.

Solidarity Threatens Strikes

WS1702115094 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 17 Feb 94 p 2

[Article by Piotr Adamowicz: "Offended 'Solidarity' Threatens"]

[Text] If in the immediate future the government does not implement the demands of Solidarity, the trade union will organize strikes. The National Committee [KK], which held a session on Wednesday [16 February] in Gdansk, negatively evaluated the prime minister's reply to the proposal to meet with Chairman Marian Krzaklewski.

"It seems that the prime minister does not want to hold this meeting at all," said KK Spokesman Piotr Zak regarding Pawlak's letter. In reply to the proposal submitted by Krzaklewski, the prime minister stated that "it is a bad tradition to transfer any conflict to the central level," and he pointed to the negotiations that are going on in the Labor Ministry. He suggested that, during those talks, Solidarity should try to discuss its tasks. The meeting between the prime minister and the chairman should be held at a later date. Krzaklewski did not conceal his disappointment over the contents of Pawlak's letter. It was unofficially recalled that last fall the Solidarity chairman was favorably impressed by Pawlak, and he counted on his help. Observers recall at the same time that, in the past, Krzaklewski relied very heavily on the help of Prime Minister Suchocka; the disappointment turned into enmity that ended up in conflict.

According to Krzklewski and the KK, only strong and permanent pressure on the government will force it to implement the trade union's demands. By the middle of March, the government should submit credible guarantees of performing the following tasks: limiting energy price increases, giving property to the people, passing a law on collective agreements, respecting the principle of representation for employee and employer organizations, changing fiscal policy, and departing from the principle of centrally regulated wages. Solidarity also demands that the "Pact on Enterprise" be implemented; it wants corrections to the budget that would make it possible to perform the above-mentioned tasks. A strike headquarters has been set up that will decide the time and form of strikes in the regions and branches. Solidarity authorities will rely, among others things, on the secretariats of the Steel Works Industry, Transport, Mining and Energy, as well as Communications. The union is setting up a strike fund; the Solidarity authorities propose that each member pay half of his day's earning, which would yield as much as 112 billion zlotys [Z].

The resignation of KK Deputy Chairman Leszek Szewc, who was the head of the election staff, was not accepted. The union did not receive financial compensation for the introduction of nine legislators to the Senate. It is a sum of Z1.3 billion. The Solidarity election committee did not publish its financial report on the campaign in time.

The union's authorities appealed to the Supreme Administrative Court over the decision of the Finance Ministry. However, they unofficially admit that they do not expect a verdict favorable to Solidarity.

Mutual Employment Agreement Signed With Ukraine

LD1602162894 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1105 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Text] [Presenter] Leszek Miller and Mykhaylo Kaskevych, ministers of labor of Poland and Ukraine, have signed an agreement on mutual employment.

[Correspondent Magdalena Winiarczyk] The agreement, which has been signed for a three-year period, sets the conditions for legal employment. Any form of employment that does not comply with the principles of the agreement is illegal. The period of individual employment may not be longer than 12 months and, in exceptional circumstances, can be extended to 18 months. The pay and working conditions for foreign employees may not be worse than the conditions enjoyed by the citizens of each country. This is to prevent dumping practices. Social security, health care and legal protection are to be guaranteed by the employing country and are to be included in consular conventions.

Work permits are to be issued by employment offices for specific employers and specific jobs. This principle also concerns applications for long-stay visas, which include work permits as well.

Ministers Leszek Miller and Mykhaylo Kaskevych have also signed an agreement on cooperation in the area of labor and social policy between the two countries.

[Announcer] Magdalena Winiarczyk was speaking from the Ministry of Labor for the Midday Magazine.

Sejm Deputy Swiecicki on Nation's Finances

AU1702100394 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 14 Feb 94 p 11

[Interview with Sejm Deputy Marcin Swiecicki by Krzysztof Grzegrzolka; place and date not given: "Not This Way"]

[Text] [Grzegrzolka] Poland's finances are in a bad state. Will the government-proposed budget improve them?

[Swiecicki] Not only will the government draft budget fail to improve Poland's financial condition, it will also make it even worse. The increase in spending will be so large that in order to pay for it, the government, apart from increasing tax rates, wants to increase the budget deficit from 44 trillion zlotys [Z], the 1993 level, to Z83 trillion this year. The Sejm will probably approve an even greater increase. The government is not going to fulfill its preelection promises in any case, and an increase in the budget deficit could ensnare Poland in new debts. This will make it impossible to fulfill any promises whatsoever in the future and will lead to a further increase in taxes and dramatic cuts in social spending. The government seems to forget that we have still not repaid the horrendous debts that Gierek [former communist party first secretary] incurred. Poland's foreign debts amount to over Z1,000 trillion—i.e. almost $50 billion. This year we will spend almost Z30 trillion on servicing these debts. This is only possible because we are not yet repaying the London Club, and the agreement with the Paris Club contains exceptionally favorable conditions. To this, one must add the servicing of our domestic debts. In 1994, we have to spend over Z80 trillion on servicing these debts. Already this year, 18 percent of budget revenues will be spent on repaying old debts instead of financing the health service, education, the Army, or the police. An increase in the budget deficit and the acquisition of new credits to finance this deficit could bring about a collapse of state finances in subsequent years.

[Grzegrzolka] Perhaps the deficit will revive the economy?

[Swiecicki] That is rather impossible in our situation because there is no spare production capacity to produce quality products that could boost demand. Many enterprises have lost their markets. Apart from that, we have too many people engaged in agriculture and a new population boom. As you can see, new jobs and investments are necessary in order to cause a revival. Yet the banks are compelled to finance the budget deficit, and they do not have much money left to give to investors. The budget deficit makes loans more expensive.

[Grzegrzolka] What types of spending do you consider unnecessary?

[Swiecicki] In a market economy, is it really necessary to subsidize the State Railways by Z7 trillion and provide agriculture and industry with several dozen trillion zlotys? Instead of spending budget funds on social objectives, it would be better to give money to the rural districts, which are bound to manage this money better.

[Grzegrzolka] Is a spending cut the only solution?

[Swiecicki] Great structural reforms to the social security system, health service, and education are required. Unfortunately, the government has still not presented any ideas of its own about these spheres, and it has abandoned the ideas of previous governments.

[Grzegrzolka] But the present ruling coalition is considered very prosocial.

[Swiecicki] The indiscriminate granting of costly social security benefits in a poor country means that there is not enough money for those who are really dependent on social security. For instance, too many working people have gained the right to early pensions. Many people are retiring early but are still working at their jobs. This is the so-called gray zone. Instead of contributing to insurance funds, these people are drawing from them. For

instance, in Poland there are more men who are drawing pensions and have not yet reached retirement age than men who who have passed retirement age. Despite the very high social security contributions, 30 percent of the workers' contribution and 94 percent of the farmers' contribution are paid out of the budget. We pay high contributions, but not even such basic benefits as family income supplements for low-income or multichildren families are available. It is similar with unemployment benefits. The coalition has evaded the difficult subject of reforming the social security and pension systems, as well as the health and education systems. In Poland, 90 percent of the funds to combat unemployment are spent on benefits. Only 10 percent is spent on creating new jobs, public works, retraining programs, and loans for people setting up their own businesses.

[Grzegrzolka] Democratic Union politicians are very fond of discussing this issue, but not even the Democratic Union government managed to resolve it.

[Swiecicki] But the program to combat unemployment initiated by the Democratic Union government remains valid. The present government is allocating more money for this program but has failed to indicate necessary cutbacks in other spheres. The rural lobby in the Sejm will demand subsidies for fuel and preferential loans for farmers. Large farms will profit by this, but it will not save the small farmers or the workers make redundant by the closure of state farms.

[Grzegrzolka] Do you see a better solution?

[Swiecicki] This money should be spent on developing the rural service infrastructure, expanding small-scale production, establishing more schools in rural areas, and creating nonagricultural jobs there. That will reap greater benefits than pumping money into rural production, which has only 25 percent of the per capita productivity of urban production. People should leave small and inefficient farms and transfer to other areas of the economy, and they ought to receive help for this transfer. In economically developed countries, less than 20 percent of the population lives off agriculture; in Poland, 50 percent of the population does. Instead of restructuring this percentage and making rural areas dependent on market forces, the government is making them dependent on state subsidies.

[Grzegrzolka] What do you think of the idea of a protectionist customs duty?

[Swiecicki] Poland has the conditions to produce more food than for just its own needs. Therefore, it is quite natural to compete for foreign markets, especially in West Europe. But cutting ourselves off from foreign competition is a bad solution. The government's proposed equalizing payments will preserve the high production costs in Poland and cause high food prices. All this will affect the consumer. The Mazowiecki government was criticized for opening up Poland to a mass influx of Western food on the Polish market, but these critics forget that it is thanks to this opening up that we can now buy fancy foodstuffs that used to appear only at Christmas or never at all. The quality of Polish dairy produce has also improved thanks to foreign competition. In 1990, our food exports went up by 20 percent against the previous year, and we had a $1-billion trade surplus in food, and without any equalizing payments. I wish the present government similar success. I think that opening foreign markets to Polish agricultural produce should be one of the government's strategic tasks.

Croatia's Tudjman Cites 'Doubts' on Strikes

AU1602163094 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Excerpts] The visit paid to Romania by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman concluded today. [passage omitted] A joint news conference was held by the two chiefs of state after the signing of the official Romanian-Croatian documents. The news conference was opened with a statement by President Ion Iliescu, who said that the bilateral relations have already experienced a positive evolution, despite the tensions prevailing in the former Yugoslav space, and that the current talks in Bucharest have shown that there is a real interest in developing these relations, as proven by the agreements and the Romanian-Croatian treaty signed on this occasion. President Ion Iliescu also hailed the agreement on normalizing the Serbian-Croatian relations and the latest developments in Bosnia. He said that a military solution to the conflict has no chance of success.

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman said in his statement that his visit to Romania will give an impetus to the economic, political, cultural, and sports cooperation between the two countries and that the treaty signed in Bucharest will lead to a very good development of the Romanian-Croatian relations. Pointing out that Romania is the largest country in the region, the Croatian president said that it can play a major role in solving the conflicts in former Yugoslavia and in the Balkans in general. The guest said that if NATO resorts to air attacks, this might lead to an extension of the conflict. Consequently, negotiations to solve the situation in Bosnia are to be preferred.

Both in his introductory statement and in the answers to the questions of the journalists, President Tudjman referred to the Yugoslav crisis, which he characterized as extremely complicated. He described NATO's ultimatum as having a possible positive aspect, but he also expressed doubts over its implementation. The Croatian head of state recalled his country's initial desire to maintain the unity of former Yugoslavia in a federation that can ensure the equal rights of the nations. That wish could not materialize, Mr. Tudjman said, because the proclamation of the independence of Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina was followed by the Serbian aggression against Croatia and Bosnia, with ended in the occupation of a third of Croatia's territory. In this respect, Mr. Franjo Tudjman emphasized the contribution that Romania can make, as element of stability in the area, to resolving the Yugoslav crisis.

Police Injured in Clashes With Striking Miners

AU1602212094 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Text] The strike of miners in the units of the Targu Jiu Autonomous Public Corporation, whose trade unions are affiliated to the Federation of Targu Jiu Mining Trade Unions Lignitul, continued today in a tense atmosphere, our correspondent Titus Stoichitoiu informed us. On the plateau located between the Gorj Prefect's Office and the aforementioned Public Corporation, over 2,000 employees, particularly from the coal basins Jilt and Mehedinti and from Pesteana and Farcasesti mines, remained faithful to Miron Cosma, leader of the Mining Trade Union Confederation of Romania, who advised them to wait for messages calmly. However, at around 1530 local a part of the demonstrators tried to force their way into the Prefect's Office. As a result of the incident, nine people who belong to the law enforcement bodies were injured. Further, the entrance to the headquarters of the Brown Coal Mining Public Corporation was opened by force.

According to our correspondent's report, the result of the telephone discussions held by Miron Cosma with the minister of industry, Dumitru Popescu, and with the president of the Chamber of Deputies Adrian Nastase, did not satisfy the demonstrators. At 1830, Miron Cosma read an ultimatum, which says, quote: If by 1500 tomorrow a government team is not sent to Targu Jiu Municipality for negotiations, I personally, accompanied by leaders of trade union and demonstrators, will go to Bucharest, unquote.

In a declaration published by the local weekly MESAGER, Victor Murea, mayor of Targu Jiu Municipality, stressed that the miners' actions are illegal and the demonstrators should have asked three days before the outbreak of the strike for authorization to occupy the area neighboring the Brown Coal Autonomous Public Corporation, which is public property. The mayor of Targu Jiu Municipality said that appropriate legal measures will be taken against organizers of the strike.

Interior Ministry Issues Warning

AU1702122894 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 17 Feb 94

[Text] In connection with the faulty organization of the meetings that were held in Bucharest and Targu Jiu on 11 and 16 February 1994, with incidents in which 15 and seven policemen were injured, respectively, and during which attempts were made to enter by force the headquarters of the Ministry of Transportation, the Prefecture of Gorj County, and the Targu Jiu Lignite Public Corporation, the Ministry of Interior specifies as follows:

It respects the constitutional right on the freedom of meetings and participates, through the units under its jurisdiction, in holding such meetings under conditions of complete order in accordance with the provisions of Law No. 60 of 1991 regarding the organization and holding of public meetings.

It expresses its concern and disapproves of the degeneration of such public demonstrations directed against the forces of order and the normal functioning of public institutions. It emphasizes that, in accordance with the provisions of Law No. 60 of 1991, the organizers are duty-bound to take all necessary measures to ensure the progress of such public meetings in a peaceful and civilized way.

Any violation of the aforesaid law will entail fines or legal punishment, as the case may be, and obliges the forces of the Ministry of Interior to intervene to reestablish order and public peace and quiet, and to ensure the supremacy of the law, an essential requirement of consolidating the rule of law in Romania.

This communique was faxed us by the Press Service of the Ministry of Interior.

Miners Rally in 'Ready To Go' to Bucharest

AU1702122294 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 17 Feb 94

[Text] This morning more than 2,000 miners from the Lignite Public Corporation, whose trade unions are affiliated with the Lignitul Mining Trade Unions Federation, gathered near the aforementioned company headquarters in their working clothes ready to go to Bucharest, as was decided last night. Although Miron Cosma, leader of the Confederation of Mining Trade Unions of Romania, initially fixed a first meeting with the strikers for 1200, he arrived there from Petrosani 40 minutes earlier. Miron Cosma said that two buses loaded with representatives of the miners from pit coal processing centers will come to Targu Jiu from the Jiu Valley after 1300 to decide on further joint actions. At the same time, he warned that no alcoholic beverages should be consumed, but failed to mention the various mining tools with which some of the strikers are armed, our correspondent Titus Stoichitoiu reports.

Trade Union Leader Announces 28 Feb Strike

AU1602183694 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 14 Feb 94

[Eugenia Cristea article: "Miron Mitrea Announces That He Will Organize Such a Strike as Nobody Has Ever Seen Before"]

[Text] After the staggering negotiations between political parties and trade unions aimed at forming a coalition government, in the end Miron Mitrea [chairman of Fratia National Confederation of Romania's Free Trade Unions, CNSRL-Fratia] stated clearly: "In fact, it is not I whom they had in mind for the position of minister of labor, but Victor Ciorbea [chairman of the National Confederation of Romania's Free Trade Unions]." From Ciorbea, we have learned that he is not willing to accept that position either, as long as the government coalition includes the Greater Romania Party, Democratic Agrarian Party of Romania, National Romanian Unity Party, and Socialist Party of Labor.

As a result of this, the CNSRL-Fratia, in an almost definite cooperation with the Alfa-Trade Union Confederation, takes over its duties.

"On 28 February we will hold a one-day strike and it will be seen not only in the paper or on the television," said Miron Mitrea. "Bread factories and bread selling stores alike will work only with a third of their capacity, refineries will be operating but will not produce anything, oil deliveries will be interrupted, drivers will not move from their garages, teachers will go to classes but will not teach, and the wood processing industry will stop its activity. The telecommunications will be interrupted every 10 minutes, road workers will block roads, and work will stop at construction sites. Enterprises will have strike pickets and nobody from the outside will be allowed to enter the factory. The idea is to prove our organizational capability and, at the same time, to prepare the ground for our future actions planned for March and April."

Farmers Union Begins Warning Strike

AU1602132494 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Text] Approximately 300 trade unions affiliated to the Agrostar Trade Union Federation, which represent the interests of workers in the state agricultural sectors, organized a two-hour warning strike this morning. During this time, work came to a complete standstill. This warning strike is the beginning of large-scale labor actions due to a labor conflict between the executive and the Agrostar Free Trade Union Federation, our reporter Marin Eftimie informs us.

Spokesman Responds to Moldova on Reunification

AU1602215094 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Text] Answering a question asked by a correspondent of Radio Romania "Current Events Program" in connection with certain remarks that [Moldovan Prime Minister] Andrei Sangheli made about the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania in an interview that he granted to ITAR-TASS, Mircea Geoana, spokesman for the Romanian Foreign Ministry, said the following:

Romania is the state that supported from the very first moment and continues to support with greatest conviction the abilities, independence, and statehood of the Republic of Moldova. I do not wish to comment on the passages in which ideas from the recent speech made by President Snegur are repeated, because the viewpoints of the Bucharest authorities about that speech have already been presented.

As regards the need to consult all Romanians in case the issue of reunification of the two Romanian states becomes topical, to which Mr. Sangheli is referring, we believe that our position has not been correctly understood. If, at one point, this issue might come up, I believe that apart from the act of consulting the Romanians from the Republic of Moldova, it is absolutely necessary to consult the Romanians in Romania, that is, to find out the opinion of all Romanians. We do not see anything offensive in these affirmations, but only an act of expressing certain obvious democratic and political facts, said Mr. Mircea Geoana to our radio station.

UNPROFOR Repeats Ultimatum; Serbs Refuse Demands

AU1602182794 Paris AFP in English 1815 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Feb 16 (AFP)—UNPROFOR's leadership stressed Wednesday [16 February] that Serb and Moslem forces must put heavy arms under UN control before Monday and said if they took the weapons back, air strikes would be launched against them.

General Jean Cot of France, commander-in-chief of the UN Protection Force in ex-Yugoslavia, said the weapons must be put under armed control "within 10 days", meaning before the Sunday midnight ultimatum laid down by NATO expires.

"I expect all the heavy weapons from both sides to be placed under our control before February 20," he added, speaking at a joint news conference at Sarajevo airport.

Ten mortars from the mainly-Moslem Bosnian Army are already under guard of armed UN peacekeepers, held in a barracks used by the Ukrainian UNPROFOR contingent in Sarajevo.

However 36 heavy weapons that the Serbs agreed to place under UN control are at present only being guarded by unarmed UN military observers.

A senior UNPROFOR officer revealed to AFP Tuesday that the UNPROFOR military leadership had asked several times to put armed guards outside the two hangars where the arms are held but that the Serbs refused.

General Andre Soubirou, UNPROFOR commander for Sarajevo, said "three additional areas for storing heavy weapons are being sought and a certain amount of weapons are being taken under control."

General Sir Michael Rose, commander of the UN Protection Force in Bosnia-Herzegovina, for his part said: "We're not here to fight a war. If they, by force of arms or superior force of arms get their weapons back, we will use air [power] against them. We'll use force if they take their weapons back from the designated positions."

Cot said that at meetings Wednesday with the commander-in-chief of the Bosnian Army, General Rasim Delic, and Tuesday with the Serb forces' chief General Ratko Mladic, "they made a solemn commitment to respect the process undertaken here by General Rose."

He reiterated there were no conflicting aims between UNPROFOR and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and that any decision to carry out air strikes would be taken "here, on the ground, by General Rose and myself."

Earlier in Brussels, NATO reiterated warnings that the deadline for the demilitarization of Sarajevo would be enforced by air strikes if necessary and denied any differences with UN peacekeepers over the meaning of "control" of Serb heavy weapons around the city.

Earlier in Sarajevo, a UN spokesman said NATO and the United Nations saw eye-to-eye on how to control heavy weapons of Bosnian Serbs in the Sarajevo area.

"Coordination meetings between NATO and the UN have sorted out all points," Peter MacFarlane, a spokesman for the United Nations Protection Force, told a press conference here.

His comments contrasted with reports from Brussels that NATO was becoming increasingly critical of apparently inadequate UN plans to monitor the Serb artillery around the city.

Serbs Fail To Appear at Weapons Talks

AU1702152494 Paris AFP in English 1506 GMT 17 Feb 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Feb 17 (AFP)—A UN-supervised meeting of Bosnian Serb and Moslem military chiefs scheduled for Thursday [17 February] morning at Sarajevo airport was cancelled because the Bosnian army side failed to show up.

French General Andre Soubirou, UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) commander for the Sarajevo sector, then went to the Lukavica barracks, the Serbs' main military base southwest of Sarajevo, where he briefly met with the local sector commander.

The UNPROFOR-supervised meeting was to have studied implementing the ceasefire and trying to establish a number of sites where heavy artillery of both sides could be placed under UN control in line with a NATO ultimatum aimed at ending the siege of Sarajevo.

Bosnian Vice President Ejup Ganic warned on Wednesday that the Moslem-majority Bosnian army did not intend to attend Thursday's meeting, saying it had met all its obligations and that the negotiations only concerned the Serb side.

In his meeting at the Lukavica barracks, Soubirou asked the Serbs to agree to 50 heavy pieces of artillery they had handed in being guarded by armed UN forces.

A Serb officer at the barracks, who asked not to be named, told AFP "armed guards are not needed here," but that "negotiations are still going on."

No UN forces were in sight within the compound on Thursday morning.

UNPROFOR warned the Serbs on Wednesday that all heavy weapons withdrawn in line with the NATO ultimatum would have to be put under armed UN guard before midnight on Sunday if they wanted to comply with the terms of the ultimatum and avoid air attacks.

In Naples, the commander of the southern NATO zone Admiral Jeremy Boorda told journalists that the warring parties in Sarajevo had a long way to go to comply with the NATO ultimatum.

"We are seeing some evidence of weapons being turned in, but we are a long way away from complete compliance," he said.

However, he said "progress in the right direction is encouraging," although he emphasised, "We need real compliance by the deadline."

Krajisnik: No Removal of Heavy Weapons

LD1702115494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1003 GMT 17 Feb 94

[Text] Jagodina, 17 Feb (TANJUG)—Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the assembly of the Srpska republic, today expressed optimism with regard to the international community's standpoint that the question of demilitarization of the Sarajevo area be resolved by diplomacy rather than by bombardment, as envisaged under a NATO ultimatum.

I am optimistic—Krajisnik said in his statement today to Jagodina Radio—as I believe that the international community will realize that the Serbs have accepted everything that is required of them.

"We have agreed to the proposal that Sarajevo be placed under UN administration; we have accepted an agreement on the future organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina; we have signed with the Croat side an agreement on the cessation of hostilities until political solutions are found; we have agreed that our aircraft should not fly over Bosnia-Herzegovina; and finally, we have agreed that our weaponry be placed under UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] control."

"All this must be enough for the international community to realize who is cooperative and which side wants to put an end to the war as soon as possible. This is why I am positive that the European Union [EU] and the United Nations will find a diplomatic solution which will avert NATO's threat to bomb Serb positions. Otherwise such an act would be the grossest crime in the 20th century in Europe, as aggression would be committed at a time when the two warring parties, the Serbs and Muslims, have signed a cease-fire, and when there are no combat actions in this area."

Asked whether heavy weaponry would be removed 20 kilometers from Sarajevo or placed under UNPROFOR control, Krajisnik said:

"NATO demands that we withdraw our heavy artillery by 20 kilometers from Sarajevo is in fact demanding that Serb units be disarmed. At the same time this means that the Serb side should abandon its centuries-old ethnic lands and hand over Sarajevo to the Muslim republic. We do not accept this as this amounts to capitulation. We are nevertheless willing to allow UNPROFOR representatives to control our heavy weaponry, which would guarantee that there would be no combat activities from our positions," Momcilo Krajisnik told Jagodina Radio.

Cot Briefs B-H Army

AU1602160894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Text] A meeting between Army General Rasim Delic, commander of the General Staff of the Supreme Command of Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, and General Jean Cot, UNPROFOR commander for the former Yugoslavia, has been held at one of the UNPROFOR bases in central Bosnia today. The talks were attended by Brigadier General Vahid Karavelic, commander of the 1st Corps of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The subject of the talks was the UNPROFOR activity to implement the 10 February NATO declaration on removing Serbian aggressor's heavy weapons to 20 km from Sarajevo and putting it under UNPROFOR control. On this occasion, Gen. Jean Cot informed generals Delic and Karavelic about UNPROFOR activities undertaken so far on implementing NATO's decisions, expressing their total determination to bring to a successful conclusion the job that has been begun.

During today's talks, Gen. Delic pointed out that the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina will completely respect all the obligations that our country's state bodies have undertaken in realizing this significant task.

Apart from the talks on withdrawing the Serbian aggressor's artillery from around Sarajevo, also touched upon were measures that the international community and UNPROFOR should undertake to stop the offensive on Bihac, a region that the Security Council has proclaimed a protected zone.

No 'Green Light' for Air Strikes

LD1602154894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1407 GMT 16 Feb 94

[By Stevan Cordas]

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 16 (TANJUG)—The U.N. Security Council [UNSC] has failed to give the green light to NATO to launch air strikes against the Bosnian Serbs, diplomatic circles in Belgrade said on Wednesday.

They interpret this by the fact that a decision was not reached even after the two-day Security Council session on the Bosnian crisis and the NATO ultimatum.

The diplomats believe that, in view of such an outcome of the Security Council session, the NATO bombardment of the Serb positions would represent an aggression, rather than a move towards a peaceful solution to the Bosnian crisis.

The (un)expected [as received] outcome of the session also means that Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali was not given permission to order the NATO air strikes.

China's Security Council representative openly said that Peking [as received] opposes the NATO bombardment.

In talks with British Prime Minister John Major, Russian President Boris Yeltsin said that a solution to the Bosnian crisis cannot be sought without Russia.

The diplomats in Belgrade believe that Peking's and Moscow's firm stands were clearly decisive for the outcome of the latest Security Council session.

In the meantime, the world has already started the countdown for the NATO ultimatum.

In NATO bases in Italy there are as many as 170 war planes.

Four more days remain until the deadline expires, but it is uncertain whether NATO will attack the Serb positions around Sarajevo without a direct Security Council decision.

Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias, who was in Belgrade on Tuesday, said that the NATO ultimatum cannot be interpreted as directed only against the Bosnian Serbs. He claims that the ultimatum was given to all three warring sides.

Papoulias' interpretation is identical to NATO's decision to threaten the Bosnian Serbs and Muslims with air strikes unless they withdraw their heavy weapons from around Sarajevo to 20 km away from the city's centre. However, everyone abroad is speaking only about the ultimatum to the Bosnian Serbs, while the Muslims and Croats are not mentioned at all.

Croatia also faces sanctions if it fails to comply with a U.N. demand to pull out its regular troops from Bosnia by February 16.

However, Croatia is hardly likely to meet this demand and it is even more improbable that it will be punished for this because some Western countries have already come up with reasons for Croatia's failure to withdraw. They are saying that the presence of regular Croat troops in Bosnia is good because they are "holding back" the Bosnian Croat forces.

Srpska Defense Minister Comments

LD1602152294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1342 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Text] Jagodina, 16 Feb (TANJUG)—General Dusan Kovacevic, defense minister of the Srpska republic, said today he "hoped reason would prevail rather than NATO's war option based on erroneous accusations and that the bombardment of Serb positions in Bosnia would not take place on 21 February."

"We have already taken military and other measures to protect the population, vital installations, and the infrastructure so that there will be the least possible damage if the threats do materialize," Kovacevic told Radio Jagodina in Serbia and added: "We do not wish the attacks to occur, but if they do we will use every means at our disposal to defend ourselves."

"We do not have a choice. We are not attacking anyone; we are defending ourselves, our homes, and our people," Kovacevic specified and added: "We have no reason for concern; we will effectively defend our positions and our territory with our own resources."

Asked what had tipped the scales in favor of halting the withdrawal of the Bosnian Serb artillery, Kovacevic replied: "We were ready to withdraw the artillery as prescribed by the ultimatum on condition that the Muslim infantry be placed under supervision at the same time."

"Since UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] representatives replied they were not in the position to do this, we decided—and they (UNPROFOR) agreed—not to withdraw the artillery from existing positions but to group it at certain points and place it under UNPROFOR supervision, and this solution was generally accepted."

"America can interpret this as it wishes, but we must make sure we do not put ourselves in an inferior position to the Muslims either through negotiations or wrong moves," Kovacevic said and stressed that possible NATO aggression against the Srpska republic would result in the escalation of the war that will not be extinguished easily.

"The world knows this; it also knows that NATO's attacks on our positions cannot be as effective as they would like," Kovacevic said.

Serbs Vow To Defend Themselves

94P20377A Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 31 Jan 94 p 4

[Article by R.M.: "We Will Defend Ourselves"]

[Text] "If air strikes should be launched against Serbian positions in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Serbs will have no choice but to defend themselves. We realize that a NATO attack on our positions would be an attack by a stronger party on a much weaker one, but the Serbs have no right to capitulate."

This statement was made yesterday for Radio Kragujevac by Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the assembly of the republic of Srpska. "Although the Muslims, who rejected the peace plan, are responsible for the continuation of the war, the Serbs are being threatened." The only reason for this is that the political forces that support the Muslims are using the United Nations to conduct their politics financed by Islamic countries.

On the subject of the continuation of the peace talks in Geneva, Krajisnik pointed out that it is very difficult to conduct negotiations under the conditions of threats and blackmail. Peace should be established as soon as possible;

weapons should be laid down, and all controversial issues should then be calmly resolved through political negotiations.

Serb General Threatens To Take Hostages

AU1702113694 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1000 GMT 17 Feb 94

[Text] The Bosnian-Serb military leadership has announced that it will take foreigners in Bosnia hostage in case NATO attacks Serb artillery round Sarajevo. The Serbs would also attack all Bosnian enclaves where UN troops are stationed, Serb General Milovanovic said in an interview with a Belgrade newspaper. This would be a kind of international massacre, the general said.

German Aid Worker Kidnapped

LD1702141194 Berlin DDP/ADN in German 1310 GMT 17 Feb 94

[Excerpt] Cologne (DDP/ADN)—A worker for the German aid organization Cap Anamur was kidnapped by Bosnian Serbs yesterday. The chairman of the organization, Rupert Neudeck, said on Deutschlandfunk Radio today that the man in question is a 32-year-old born in Sarajevo who has held German citizenship for a number of years. According to this information he was returning to the Dalmatian coast after carrying out relief work in Tuzla when the Bosnian Serbs kidnapped him from a bus carrying Norwegian doctors. According to available information the man is in good shape.

The German Government is making efforts through diplomatic channels to achieve his release.

Neudeck expressed the hope that the work of the aid organizations in Bosnia-Herzegovina could continue despite the NATO ultimatum to the Serbs. [passage omitted]

Commission Confirms 'Single Bomb' Caused Massacre

AU1602134694 Paris AFP in English 1337 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Text] Zagreb, Feb 16 (AFP)—A UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Forces] fact-finding mission has been unable to determine the origin of mortar fire that killed 68 people in a Sarajevo market earlier this month, an official of the United Nations Protection Force in Yugoslavia announced Wednesday.

The mortar shell which also wounded 200 other people on February 5 may have been fired by either side, Serb or Moslem, Canadian Colonel Michel Gauthier, who headed the investigation committee, told the press.

"Both parties are known to have 120 mm mortars, and the bombs to go along with them," he said. "The Team has no reason to believe that either party does not have access to this type of ammunition.

"There is insufficient physical evidence to prove that one party or the other fired the mortar bomb. The mortar bomb in question could have been fired by either side."

The commission, which conducted its inquiry on the spot between February 11 and 13, confirmed that a single bomb caused the explosion, the single bloodiest attack on civilians in the 22-month old Bosnian conflict.

The attack prompted the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation to issue its ultimatum Wednesday to order air strikes against the Bosnian Serb forces around Sarajevo if they do not neutralize artillery around the capital by midnight Sunday.

Bosnia's Moslem-led government immediately blamed the Serbs besieging the capital for the attack, while the Serbs charged that Moslem forces had killed their own people to try to bring new condemnation on the Serbs, largely seen as the aggressors in the war.

Gauthier, chief of the engineering section of UNPROFOR, was appointed head of the team comprising French, Pakistani, Russian and Spanish experts, by UN special representative for the former Yugoslavia, Yasushi Akashi.

The commission of inquiry was agreed on February 10 after Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said he would refuse to take part in peace talks in Geneva unless it was appointed.

Serbs 'Very Disappointed' With Report

LD1602184494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1729 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 16 Feb (TANJUG)—Momcilo Krajisnik, chairman of the Srpska republic assembly, today told TANJUG's correspondent that the Serb side is "very disappointed" with the work of the UN expert commission investigating the massacre at Sarajevo's Markale marketplace, and that it will demand "an additional investigation and explanation."

"We have not yet received the commission's report, but we have been informed that it concludes it is impossible to determine whether the shell was fired from the Muslim or the Serbian side, and therefore impossible to establish responsibility for the massacre," Krajisnik said.

"We are very dissatisfied with such a report because the commission did not carry out a detailed investigation and make an in-depth analysis", Krajisnik explained, recalling that the Serbian side's demand that it not only establish whether the shell was fired and by which side, but also that a forensic study of the victims' bodies be carried out.

"This would have told us something about the nature of the injuries and answered whether a mortar shell could have killed so many people," Krajisnik said.

"Our demand has not been not met. This is strange and we are all the more disenchanted with the fact that the truth has not been not established, because we know the

massacre was committed by the Serbian side," the Srpska republic assembly chairman underscored.

Commenting on the commission's explanation that some time has passed since the massacre, Krajisnik said: "I believe it is now a problem to gather all the evidence and ascertain the nature of the crime." "However, we cannot accept such practice," Krajisnik added, recalling that, immediately following the massacre, the Serbian side demanded that a mixed commission and then an international commission of experts be formed, but that there was too much procrastination.

"Many indications exist that the device which exploded had been planted, and doubts remain," Krajisnik stressed.

According to Krajisnik, a larger number of various international experts should have been included in the investigation, because this case, as he said, has grave consequences for one side—the Serbian side—and could have far-reaching repercussions on the entire peace process and peace in the region.

Recalling that the massacre has been a reason for NATO to issue an ultimatum, Krajisnik stressed that the report in its present form cannot be a reason for the rigorous threat against the Serbian people.

"We fear that at this moment, a few days before the expiration of the ultimatum, politics have had a significant influence on the results of the investigation," Krajisnik said.

Asked whether Serbian experts were included in the work of the international investigative commission, Krajisnik replied that a Serbian representative was not a full member of the commission, and was unable to vote, or in any way influence results of the investigation. He, as an additional member, had an insight into the work of the commission, could offer explanations, and inform them about the findings of the Serbian side regarding the massacre at Sarajevo's marketplace, Krajisnik explained.

Karadzic, Abdic Sign Cease-Fire Agreement

LD1702132394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1245 GMT 17 Feb 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 17 Feb (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic, and Fikret Abdic, president of the autonomous province of western Bosnia, have reached an agreement on the permanent cessation of hostilities and an orientation toward political negotiations. This is underlined in a statement issued today by the office of the president of the Srpska republic.

The agreement on a permanent cease-fire will come into effect at 1200 [1100 GMT] on 18 February. "This is yet another important step toward peace in former Bosnia-Herzegovina," the statement says.

Abdic promises to secure compliance with the cease-fire not only on the territory of the autonomous province of western Bosnia, but also on the left bank of the Una River, which is currently controlled by remnants of the 5th Corps loyal to the Muslim government in Sarajevo.

Attacks Continuing

AU1702104794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 17 Feb 94

[Mirza Sadikovic report from Bihac]

[Excerpts] [Words indistinct] of the fiercest offensive on Bihac County, Karadzic's chetniks are not giving up on their aspirations to take Bihac, particularly since they have the generous aid of the greatest traitor of the Bosnian people—Fikret Abdic. Following instructions from his superiors, he has set out to capture the left bank of the Una River. Artillery and tank attacks along the defense lines on the Grmusko-Srbljanski plateau, Hasin Vrh, and the Bihac front went on throughout the night, while artillery attacks at Bihac and the outskirts of Cazin intensified this morning. After yesterday's attacks in the Cazin-Velika Kladusa Commune, the so-called army of so-called Kladusa autonomy was somewhat quieter overnight, but it resumed attacking this morning. All this is an illustration of the peace in [Velika] Kladusa that Fikret Abdic claims he agreed yesterday with Karadzic [16 Feb]. [passage omitted]

As we report this, the chetniks have stepped-up attacks on the Grmusko-Srbljanski plateau, and also on the demarcation lines with the remains of Abdic's rebel army.

Serbs Accuse Muslims of Cease-Fire Violations

LD1602223494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2154 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, February 16 (TANJUG)—The ceasefire agreement for the region of Sarajevo, reached by the Bosnian Serbs and Moslems, is being mostly respected apart from sporadic violations by the Moslem side, Bosnian Serb army sources said on Wednesday. Small arms and sniper fire was opened from Moslem positions on Serb parts of the city, primarily on the suburbs of Grbavica and Ilijas, the Belgrade Street and the Ilidza Hospital, the sources said.

They pointed out the fact that the Moslem side is digging trenches and building bunkers and other kinds of shelter.

Officials of the United Nations Protection Forces UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] have over the past few days confirmed that the Moslem side was using the truce and the withdrawal of the Serb artillery to advance closer to the Bosnian Serb defence lines and dig up trenches there. The Serb side has asked UNPROFOR to prevent such activity of the Moslem forces.

In other parts of the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Moslem forces continued provocations against the Serb side. In the areas of Doboj, Teslic, Gradacac and Ozren in northern Bosnia, the Moslem forces opened fire on Serb positions from mortars and

small arms and the situation was similar in the regions of Olovo and Kladanj in north-eastern Bosnia.

Moslem small arms attacks were more serious in the area of Brcko in the Sava River valley in northern Bosnia and the Moslem forces were especially active on the Tesliv front, where its infantry was launching attacks backed by strong mortar fire.

Croatian radio quoted Bosnian Croat sources as saying that there was no large-scale fighting between Bosnian Croats and Moslems on Wednesday.

In the area of Kiseljak in central Bosnia, a Moslem terrorist group attempted to make a break-through while in the Kiseljak- Fojnica region and the area of Zavidovici re-grouping and movement of Moslem troops was observed, the radio said.

Karadzic Suggests B-H Rejoin Yugoslavia

AU1602175094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Text] A meeting of the deputies of the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina who have remained in Sarajevo was held today to discuss just one topic: the latest Geneva negotiations. Mediha Colo has the details:

[Begin recording] [Colo] At today's meeting of deputies of the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina who have remained in Sarajevo, Miro Lazovic, chairman of the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina, informed the deputies about the basic characteristics of the latest Geneva negotiations.

[Lazovic] [word indistinct] delegation persistently insisted that the only thing that should be talked about are borders, and, as he put it, not borders of future republics within the union, but of independent states, that is, a Serbian state that would have the right to form links with other independent states and above all with Serbia. Of course, our delegation kept refusing this, being of the opinon that one should remain within [changes thought] that the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina exists and that one should be talking about the internal setup within that framework.

It is interesting that even Owen did not persist in keeping to his plan, but offered our delegation the freedom to present its new ideas. These new ideas, that is, of Bosnia-Herzegovina (?with) 17 cantons, as had also been presented at our assembly, were expounded by Ivo Komsic along with the map that was (?in the hall) for the first time and that really caused much attention. It is interesting that Karadzic's delegation agreed to talk about (?it). On the last day, Owen's proposal to continue the talks on the Owen-Stoltenberg plan was nevertheless accepted, taking into account some changed situations and perhaps some new ideas, but this plan remains as a basis. All participants in the talks agreed with this and this is the only truth about the end of the Geneva negotiations.

[Colo] Miro Lazovic also expressed his opinion about the latest negotiations in Geneva:

[Lazovic] A small move has been made, a move in the sense that an atmosphere was created that respected these different opinions without any aggressive statements, above all by Karadzic's delegation. There has emerged a clear readiness to reach peace, that is, that it is necessary to stop the war as soon as possible. One more thing is interesting and that is that the awareness seems to be gradually prevailing that a global political solution must be sought that extends beyond Bosnia-Herzegovina. Karadzic even presented us with an offer, demanding that we did not get surprised or laugh, to join Yugoslavia. We rejected this [word indistinct], that is, Haris Silajdzic resolutely said that we do not want to join a greater Serbia, but one may speak about Bosnia-Herzegovina as an independent and sovereign state possibly forming some links and relations with other states on the territory of the former Yugoslavia through the European Union or through certain relations and links for which there is a certain mutual interest.

[Colo] Many deputies present at today's meeting insisted that our delegation to future negotiations must exclusively present the policies that have been adopted by the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which Assembly Chairman Miro Lazovic finally also clarified.

Croats Continue Ethnic Cleansing in Mostar

AU1702094594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 17 Feb 94

[Report by Enes Ratkuzic and Faruk Hajtac from Mostar]

[Text] Unfavorable weather conditions for carrying out combat operations and the significantly more energetic approach by the world factors, have obviously (?influenced) the behavior of the aggressor's military forces in Bosnia. Sporadic, or rather rare small arms provocations and a few mortar shells directed at the demarcation lines represent the main characteristics of the aggressor's activity in the operational zone controlled by the 4th Corps units in the past 24 hours.

However, no one seriously believes in the swift and permanent return of peace to these areas. Namely, despite the cease-fire and negotiations between the two sides in Medjugorje, the Ustashas yesterday continued carrying out their policy of ethnic cleansing by expelling another 10 civilians to the left bank [of the Neretva River]. Therefore, it is obvious that the Croatian side has not given up its infernal plans and the intention of making the area Croatian.

This has been Enes Ratukuzic and Faruk Hajtac reporting for Radio Television Bosnia-Herzegovina from the 4th Corps Information Service.

'Critical' Situation Cited

AU1602191794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Omer Vatric report from Mostar]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] It is very cold in Mostar, and it is freezing in people's flats as there is a real fuel crisis. There is no electricity for the eighth month running and it is uncertain when there will be any. There is no drinking water and no food has come into the town lately. No humanitarian aid convoy has come for days. There are increasingly shortages of medicine and those most needed are unobtainable for days at a time. There is a constant crisis with medicines to cure ulcers, epilepsy, (?hypertension), and many other diseases.

A special problem is the lack of fuel for the hospital generator, municipal vehicles, and other vital needs of the town. As the Mostar Commune War Presidency reports, it is already the fourth time that the Croatian Defense Council has turned back fuel that the UNHCR has tried to take to the hospital on the left bank [of the Neretva]. In a word, the situation in Mostar is critical and it is becoming increasingly difficult every day.

Zepce Protests Treatment of Muslims

AU1602210394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Text] Eight thousand citizens and about 10,000 refugees on the free territory of the Zepce commune are warning and addressing the highest state bodies, UNPROFOR, UNHCR, and the International Committee of the Red Cross about the abandonment and incorrect treatment of Bosniaks, the Muslims of the region. On the one hand, the Zepce community is being constantly ignored when speaking about places with the worst humanitarian situation and at the same time, the citizens of that besieged town have been left to the mercy of the extreme wing of the Croatian Defense Council.

Government Assesses Humanitarian Situation

AU1502210294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 15 Feb 94

[Excerpts] The Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina held a session in Sarajevo today. The session focused on the grave humanitarian situation. Mladen Bosnjak reports:

[Bosnjak] The first and key topic of the discussion at the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government session today [words indistinct] the availability of food for the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina. After the government's extraordinary session, when it was concluded that the humanitarian situation was so bad that it was threatening with catastrophic consequences, the delivery of food had somewhat improved, but then it quickly fell to its previous level. In some regions, such as in the Bihac region currently, the availability of food has become critical. The main characteristics of the current situation concerning the delivery of food were presented by Arif Smajkic, minister for refugees, labor, and social protection.

[Begin Smajkic recording] Refugees, displaced persons, and other socially deprived categories of the population today receive food amounting to 158 grams on average. This is about 21 percent of their needs.

The picture is somewhat different in different regions. The availability of food has drastically deteriorated in the Bihac region, where meeting food demands fell from 41 to 18 percent. In Gorazde, it fell from 31 percent to 13.6 percent. A significant deterioration was registered in the Zenica region, where it fell from 28 percent to 13.8 percent. A negligible improvement in the situation was registered in Travnik. The rise there was from 8 to 13.2 percent. In Tuzla, it rose from 7 to 11.6 percent. A somewhat more significant improvement was registered in Sarajevo, where meeting food supplies rose from 25 to 38 percent per resident. [end recording]

[Bosnjak] Here is an excerpt from a report on the situation in different regions.

Mostar region: No UNHCR relief convoy has arrived in Jablanica in the last seven days. The amount of food that arrived in Mostar is insufficient in terms of quality and variety.

Zenica region: The situation remains critical. The greatest problems with the delivery of food were experienced in Zavidovici and Zepce owing to extremely poor roads. This renders the situation in these towns very bad.

Travnik region: The situation in this region is extremely difficult, particularly in Gornji Vakuf and the villages around Gornji Vakuf.

Tuzla region: The wider area around Tuzla is approaching the point where the delivery of food could be described as dramatic, because the majority of convoys come to this region from Belgrade and through the aggressor's territory. More and more convoys are being canceled. Meeting food demands in this region is the worst in the republic. [passage omitted]

The unfavorable situation in Bihac over the last 15 days has culminated in the total suspension of convoys for this town. Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic also stressed the following:

[Begin Ljubijankic recording] In the last seven days hospitals have been fiercely shelled. Fourteen patients were killed as a result of this shelling. This is all being somehow overshadowed by events here in Sarajevo. Chetniks are exploiting the attention the world public is giving to Sarajevo and carrying out their activities there in the dark. I think that the psychological effect of air drops would be compelling there, perhaps more so than the actual physical effect. [end recording] [passage omitted]

RSK Asks Serbs Abroad To Prevent Air Strikes

LD1602155694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1447 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Excerpts] Knin, 16 Feb (TANJUG)—The ministry of foreign affairs of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] called on all Serbs and Serb associations in the world today to do everything they can against the planned NATO air strikes on Serb military targets and the population of the Srpska republic, ISKRA reported.

"The casualty toll will be huge, whole families will perish, including infants. It will be a real genocide—a crime which began in World War II when the Muslims and Croats, sponsored by Adolf Hitler, killed 1.5 million Serbs," the statement says. [passage omitted]

For their part, the Serbs have already done a great deal for establishing peace: They surrendered Sarajevo airport to UNPROFOR, they surrendered territories to the Muslims in exchange for peace on two occasions, and they saved 80,000 Croats from being massacred by the Muslims. The Serbs have never besieged the city of Sarajevo. Sarajevo is a city divided into Serb and Muslim parts, ISKRA reports.

The ministry of foreign affairs calls on all Serbs in the world to present these details to politicians, parties, members of parliaments, journalists and other respected personalities, also calling for organization of protests because Serbs currently have no other weapons, the statement says.

Russia's Churkin on Possible Air Strikes

LD1602144594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1319 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Text] Zagreb, 16 Feb (TANJUG)—Any decision on possible air strikes on the Serbs, if they do not withdraw weapons from their positions around Sarajevo, must be taken by the UN Security Council so international consensus can be reached, Russian President Yeltsin's special envoy Vitaliy Churkin said today at the end of his visit to Zagreb.

"However," Churkin noted, "it is not our intention to bring about a crisis over this issue in the relations between Russia and the international community." Churkin added that "Russia has good communications with the Serbian side just as Germany communicates well with Croatia and the United States does with the Muslims."

Churkin expressed dissatisfaction with "some aspects of NATO's decision" to give an ultimatum to the Bosnian Serbs since, in his words, this has created "duality regarding the situation in Sarajevo."

"These decisions go beyond the framework set by UN resolutions. If this standpoint had been adopted at a session of the UN Security Council, we would have full unanimity in the stands of the international community," Churkin said.

In his view, air strikes "are the last resort in the event of direct attacks on UNPROFOR or in a difficult humanitarian situation."

Reflecting upon his visit to Sarajevo, Churkin said that "his impressions were encouraging" following talks with commander of the UN peace force General Jean Cot, Serb General Ratko Mladic, Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic and Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic.

"My impression in the wake of all these talks is that all the sides to the conflict are now thinking about peace rather than further fighting," Churkin said and added that General Mladic "convinced him that he would meet UNPROFOR's demand with maximum flexibility."

Redman Presents U.S. Initiatives to Granic

LD1602194394 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Text] Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and foreign minister, has received the U.S. President's special envoy Charles Redman. Mr. Redman informed Granic about U.S. views on the possibilities for resolving the crisis in this part of Europe, especially in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the light of the latest NATO decisions.

Ambassador Redman presented several U.S. initiatives—also supported by the leading countries of the European Union—for setting up Croat-Muslim relations on a lasting basis and for ending the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Minister Granic voiced Croatia's support for NATO's resolve to end the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina as soon as possible. Hope was expressed that all parties to the conflict—especially the Serb side—would take the world community's warnings seriously.

Both sides attached particular importance to the setting up of Croat-Muslim relations and cooperation between the two peoples in the final resolution of the crisis. Ambassador Redman laid special emphasis on the importance the United States was attaching to Croatia's role in resolving the crisis in these parts.

Tudjman on Croatia's Efforts To End Crisis

LD1602234294 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Text] Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman received Italian Senator Francesco Cossiga, who was paying a private unofficial visit, in the Presidential Palace this evening.

During the course of their friendly and open talks, President Tudjman and Senator Cossiga discussed the political situation in Croatia and developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina. President Tudjman informed his

guest about efforts being invested by the Croatian state leadership aimed at ending the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina through political negotiations, i.e., in a peaceful way, to the benefit of all three nations living in that republic.

RSK President Protests to Mitterrand

LD1602150794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1356 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 16 (TANJUG)—President of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) Milan Martic, in his letter of protest to French President Francois Mitterrand, warns him that his government is to be blamed for the possible fresh genocide of Serbs because of a partial policy of Paris towards the Serbian people and their states which emerged from the collapse of ex-Yugoslavia.

France has waged a strong campaign for the NATO forces to air raid positions of the Serbs in the ex-Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

On February 9, NATO 'succumbed' to France's pressure but, to the disappointment of Paris, it threatened with air strikes equally against the Bosnian Muslims as well as the Bosnian Serbs unless they withdraw by February 20 their heavy weapons in and around Sarajevo, or regroup them and place them under UNPROFOR (U.N. Protection Force) control.

In his letter to Mitterrand, monitored by the RSK news agency ISKRA, Martic is confident that the current French policy will lose the battle because it contradicts the spirit of France's freedom, not because it is unjust towards the Serbs.

Martic said that back in 1876 the celebrated French poet Victor Hugo accused Europe of helping to annihilate Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina and that he sought protection for Serbs while European civilization would save its face.

Martic also recalled the notable French politicians and generals in the past who were enthusiastic about the way the Serbs were fighting on their side in World War One.

"May I remind you that the Serbian people have built a monument to the French state, perhaps the only such monument in the world. It represents France as the state of victory and democracy, with which the Serbian people were allied in the two world wars," Martic writes.

Last January, Martic was elected president of the RSK, the state proclaimed in predominantly Serb-populated parts of the former Croatia in response to its violent secession and its attempt to reduce their civil and national rights.

Tudjman Comments on Visit to Romania

LD1602164594 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Text] [Announcer] President of the Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman today ended his three-day state visit to Romania. Following his arrival at Zagreb airport President Tudjman made a brief public statement. Branko Merlin reports.

[Merlin] After the ceremonial welcome and meeting high-ranking Croatian officials who welcomed the president and the members of our delegation at the airport, President Tudjman described his visit to Romania as follows:

[Begin Tudjman recording] It was a very interesting. Above all, we have become familiar with friendly Romania. We have established personal contacts with the highest-ranking representatives of Romania's state and political life. It is crucial, however, that we made advances in our bilateral relations. It seems to me that it is of equal importance, if not of greater importance, that we agreed on some joint initiatives in paving the way for resolving the international crisis in this part of Europe, in the course of which Romania can play an important role, given its relations with Belgrade. This was a very fruitful visit. [end recording]

[Merlin] Prompted by the press, President Tudjman also reflected on his meeting with representatives of a small Croatian community in Romania. He is particularly satisfied with the fact that 12 young Croatians from Romania are already going to school in Zagreb. [passage omitted]

[Presenter] Assessing the results of his visit, the Croatian president said that the two state delegations have agreed on the most important problems. In this context he singled out a solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia and restoring peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as the continuation of forging friendly relations and cooperation between Croatia and Romania in all spheres—political, economic and cultural—something that was initiated as early as the time of President Iliescu's visit to Croatia, President Tudjman said. He also pointed out that Romania, as the most important country in south east Europe, could secure an important role in resolving the crisis in the former Yugoslavia on the strength of its good relations with Belgrade as well as its own interest in peace and stability in the region.

In reply to a question asking under what circumstances Croatia would accept the lifting of sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, President Tudjman said that the precondition for lifting the sanctions is the restoration of peace in Bosnia- Herzegovina and the return of Croatia's UNPROFOR-protected occupied territories under Croatian sovereignty.

President Tudjman expressed support for NATO's ultimatum to the Bosnian Serbs, regarding it as the resolute stand of Europe and the U.S. regarding the war in

Bosnia-Herzegovina. We hope that air strikes will not take place and that this ultimatum will be an incentive for all three sides to restore peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina through negotiations, he added.

Speaking about Croatia's relations with Serbia, while replying to a correspondent of POLITIKA of Belgrade, the Croatian president stressed that Croatia was striving to improve mutual relations, something that is also borne out by a recently signed declaration on the normalization of Croatian-Serbian relations. The precondition for true normalization is an end to Belgrade's aid to the rebel Serbs in Croatia's occupied territories.

As far as Croatia is concerned, President Tudjman said, Croatia is ready to guarantee its Serbs local self-government in the counties where Serbs are in the majority in Croatia and cultural autonomy in whole Croatia. He stressed that it was high time for the Croatians and Serbians to normalize their relations. In this respect he also stressed that this ought to be done on the basis of mutual recognition between the two states. This would result in some sort of Scandinavization of the Balkans and peace and stability in the region, he said.

Romanian President Iliescu regarded the Croatian President's visit as very important for better bilateral relations between the two countries. Good relations between Croatia and Romania are an important element of stability in the entire region, he added. President Iliescu lent support to the declaration on the normalization of Serbian-Croatian relations as an important step towards resolving the crisis in the former Yugoslavia and as a precondition for an end to the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Pacification of Sarajevo on the basis of action by the international community is an important contribution to the establishment of peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, President Iliescu went on to say. To secure peace at last in Bosnia-Herzegovina, he added—since it can only be secured through negotiations—it is necessary that there is a political will on all three sides.

Crvenkovski Assails Greek Government's Moves

LD1602223194 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2100 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Text] In reaction to the decision by Greece to close its consulate in Macedonia and close the port of Thessaloniki to Macedonian goods, Macedonian Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski made the following statement:

[Begin Crvenkovski recording] The Republic of Macedonia deems that the latest decision by the Greek Government on the suspension of work of the consulate general of the Republic of Greece in Skopje and the interruption of transport of goods between the port of Thessaloniki and Skopje, which in fact represents an embargo against our country, is an act contravening the UN charter, CSCE documents and international law. By this act the Greek side has violated a conclusion of the EC council of ministers reached at the Edinburgh summit on 12 December 1992, according to which our country must be provided with regular oil supplies.

Such unilateral and unacceptable measures taken by the Greek Government are particularly worrying since they are also in contravention of the UN Security Council resolution in which both Macedonia and Greece are called on to overcome differences through UN-mediated negotiations and thus contribute to the strengthening of peace and security in the region.

The Republic of Macedonia has always pursued a peace-loving policy regarding all developments on the territory of former Yugoslavia, has avoided war and managed to build a democratic society and a free market economy and regulate interethnic relations on the basis of dialogue and tolerance.

With regard to the dispute with Greece, Macedonia has shown the maximum flexibility and readiness to display goodwill in the resolution of open issues. This Macedonian policy also applies to the rest of the world.

Macedonia has managed to preserve peace and security on its territory and by this has become a factor of peace and stability in the region. Therefore, it is surprising that at the time when the international community is investing enormous efforts for the peaceful and negotiated resolution of the most complex problems, including halting the war in Bosnia, the Republic of Greece, a member of the United Nations, NATO, and the European Council, and the current president of the European Union, should be taking such measures against our independent and peace-loving country; these measures violate international law. By this the Greek Government wishes to exert economic, political, and other kinds of pressure on our country, taking advantage of the fact that Macedonia is a land-locked country.

The Government of the Republic of Macedonia wishes to stress that this inflicts huge damage on the permanent interests of both countries and nations, and also on future mutual relations and cooperation for which the Greek side bears responsibility.

Despite this, Macedonia firmly abides by its resolve to build good relations with all its neighbors, including its southern neighbor, and is ready to continue the Greek-Macedonian dialogue. The Government of the Republic of Macedonia will collect evidence of all possible consequences caused by the Greek blockade—which was not caused by the Macedonian side—and in this connection it will take the necessary measures and activities in the international arena. [end recording]

Emergency Government Session Called

AU1602171694 Paris AFP in English 1706 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Text] Skopje, Feb 16 (AFP)—The Macedonian government met in emergency session Wednesday [16 February] following Greece's decision to close its northern port of Salonika to Macedonian goods and close its consulate general in Skopje. Macedonian commentators warned that the Greek move would cause regional destabilisation.

Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou said Wednesday he was "forced" to take these steps because of what he called landlocked Macedonia's "continual provocations and growing irredentist intransigence."

Greece accuses the former Yugoslav republic of trying to usurp a name Athens says is solely part of Greek heritage and of harboring expansionist aims over the Greek province of the same name.

Crvenkovski Applies to Join 'Partnership'

AU1602200994 Paris AFP in English 1955 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Text] Skopje, Feb 16 (AFP)—The Macedonian Government has asked to join NATO's Partnership for Peace, an official said Wednesday [16 February], as NATO member Greece clamped a partial economic embargo on the former Yugoslav republic.

The official said Macedonian Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski had informed North Atlantic Treaty Organisation secretary-general Manfred Woerner by letter of Skopje's intention to join the partnership and participate in it actively.

The partnership, announced by NATO last month, provides for military cooperation and aid especially for former communist countries in eastern Europe, with the possibility of full membership later.

Observers here said the partnership could lead to Macedonia providing U.S. and NATO bases on its soil.

Commission Adopts Bill on Intelligence Agency

AU1602211494 Skopje MIC in English 16 Feb 94

[Unattributed report: "Legislative Commission: Intelligence Under Control"]

[Text] The defining of the responsibility of the director of the Intelligence Agency was the most controversial issue at yesterday's session of the parliament's Legislative Commission. At the end, the Commission adopted the proposal for a law for the forming of an Intelligence Agency.

The representatives of the Interior Ministry pointed out that the law defines the control at three levels: "The president of the state appoints and dismisses the director, the government can demand responsibility from the director for the activities of the Agency, and there will also be parliamentary supervision."

A couple of members of the commission emphasized the conceptual inconsistency that the director answers to organs which did not elect him. To this, the Interior Ministry representatives replied that the strengthened control is introduced in order to prevent the autonomous activities of the agency, but also not to allow involvement in the daily political interests.

In relation to this law, also two amendments were submitted. The first one specifies that the employees in the agency cannot carry out other activities and functions, and the second, that both the employees in the agency and the Interior Ministry have the right a 30 percent increase.

January Inflation Rate Disputed

AU1602131594 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 16 Feb 94

[Unattributed report: "January Inflation 8 or 20 Percent?"]

[Text] The independent Macedonian television A1 cites unofficial sources on differences between the Macedonian Government and the State Statistics Institute, emerged towards the end of January, i.e., with the start of the realization of the stabilization program for 1994. The disputable issue is the January inflation rate. According to the Government plans, it should have been 8 percent, but the Statistics Institute announced a 22 percent inflation in January.

Republic Settles $107-Million Debt

AU1602131394 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 16 Feb 94

[Unattributed report: "Debt Toward International Bank Settled"]

[Text] Two days ago the Republic of Macedonia settled its debt towards the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, by paying $107 million to the Bank's account.

Joint Commission To Investigate F-16 Crash

AU1602154994 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Text] We have already reported that a NATO F-16 military aircraft has carried out crash landing at Secovlje Airport today. This has also been confirmed by the Defense Ministry, while Defense Minister Janez Jansa has already appointed a special commission that will carry out an investigation. The commission has allowed the experts of the country that owns the aircraft to carry out some security measures on the aircraft's armaments. Robert Rakar from Radio Koper has more details:

[Begin Rakar recording] Secovlje Airport has been virtually closed since 1022 when a U.S. F-16 aircraft carried out a crash landing there. The pilot chose Secovlje for the crash landing because of an engine fault. Witnesses to this incident have told us that the aircraft first touched the runway at its beginning, whereupon it bounced into the air and its engine died. It then tried to land again, and during this last attempt its undercarriage collapsed. The aircraft then crashed into a verge at the end of the runway. The pilot was not injured and two hours after the accident he was transferred to Aviano by special U.S. Army helicopter where he will undergo all the necessary medical checkups.

A special Defense Ministry commission, lead by Brigadier Iztok Podbregar, took over the matter from the border police. We can expect the arrival of a special U.S. military commission to carry out the necessary investigation together with the Slovene commission at any moment. It is very difficult to obtain any information, but unofficially six miles out of Secovlje the pilot disarmed two rockets and dumped them into the sea. We will be able to confirm this information once the commission has completed its work. Brigadier Podbregar promised that the investigation will be carried out as swiftly as possible. [end recording]

Parties Plan Merger With Liberal Democrats

AU1402164294 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 14 Feb 94

[Text] The preparations for a merger congress of the parties of the political center are going according to schedule. On Wednesday Presidents of the Liberal Democratic Party, the Democratic Party, the Socialist Party, and the Greens-Ecological Social Party, will sign a charter on their proposals and intentions to link up. The merger congress is to take place in Bled on 12 March.

A coordinating group of the parties compiled a draft statute of the new party last Friday. A group for program documents is to complete its work this week. The so-called coordinating group of party presidents has already harmonized the majority of views regarding the forthcoming merger. A meeting of the Liberal Democratic Party Council is scheduled for next Monday. At that meeting the highest party authority will adopt a stance on the proposed statute and pass concrete decisions about future linkage.

According to the scenario of the merger, all the parties are to hold their congresses on the morning of 12 March. After passing a decision to merge into a new party, the congress of the new party is scheduled to be held in Bled the same day. The new party does not have a name yet. It has been agreed that Janez Drnovsek will be its president. The party will have three or four vice presidents.

As the leaderships of the Democratic Party and the Greens- Ecological Social Party explained to STA news agency this morning, the Democrats, the Socialists, the Greens-Ecological Social Party, and the Slovene Craftsmen-Entrepreneurial Party will form a new joint party even if they do not find a common language with the Liberal Democrats.

Intelligence Services Undergo Reorganization

AU1502090894 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 7 Feb 94 p 2

[Article by Vladimir Vodusek: "SOVA Abandoning Political Role, Police Taking Its Place"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 6 February—In a special statement for DELO, Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek denied the existence of a secret agreement on the division of interest spheres between the Slovene intelligence agencies and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. According to our sources, intensive preparations and talks on a new organization of the Slovene Intelligence-Security Agency SOVA and the Security Organ of the Defense Ministry VOMO are underway.

A working draft of the Law on SOVA, which will appear as strictly confidential on the agenda of a close session of Bucar's commission for the supervision of intelligence agencies this month, has stirred sentiments in the secret services. At one of many meetings of acting directors of intelligence services Drago Fers and Dusan Mikus, and Defense and Interior Ministers Janez Jansa and Ivan Bizjak, they have supposedly agreed on a new division of interest and working spheres. According to this information, the Interior Ministry will take over entirely the counterintelligence activities in March this year, while SOVA will primarily retain the intelligence work abroad. Dr. Drago Fers, who, following the resignation of Silvan Jakin, is acting director until the appointment of a SOVA director, has confirmed the expert meetings at the "highest level," but adamantly denied any sort of tripartite agreement, that is to say, any division according to which one service would cede some or all activity to another service. It is all about covering gray areas, Fers assures and stresses the functional division, according to which SOVA will deal with intelligence activities exclusively, that is to say, gathering information abroad, while the protection, that it so say, counterintelligence activities will be taken over by the criminal department of the

Interior Ministry, which has already performed these activities since the change of the regime. Namely, SOVA is not authorized for possible court investigation in proving criminal activities aimed against the state, that is to say, undermining the constitutional order at home, but can merely confirm the connection of the accused with foreign intelligence services. As Fers assures, they have been coordinating spheres of action at these meetings and exchanged views on the formation of the entire security-intelligence system. According to Drago Fers, SOVA has completely broken off with the former political police, which chiefly used to monitor and prove enemy activities, that is to say, the existence of the internal enemy, as over two-thirds of the information in the past was counterintelligence information. It will, of course, not completely abandon its protective role. It is supposed to share with VOMO some intelligence tasks abroad for which there is, understandably, no legal basis. Namely, both services are active abroad and could resolve certain tasks more efficiently together, Fers says.

Hints about the final dismantling of SOVA have also trickled into the public because of fear that, due to the specialization of SOVA's work, more old agents, who were supposedly linked to the old generation of politicians, would lose their jobs. The fact that the methods of ruling are actually the same and that intelligence services are at their core on the basis of events in the secret services spurred numerous speculations and criticism of possible political misuse, that is to say, a political background to the above-mentioned reorganization within these services. SOVA, which has gone through numerous reorganizations already, was allegedly not reliable enough for the political right wing, and for this reason the police, that is to say, Interior Minister Bizjak would take over the counterintelligence segment, which is, of course, the most interesting for the politicians. Jansa's service, which concentrates primarily on military problems, will stay divided into intelligence and counterintelligence sections. As Drago Fers assures, SOVA and VOMO would primarily divide duties in the realm of intelligence work, which amounts to approximately one-third of all data. The skeptics believe that the entire debate is all about political games and less about concern for national security, because it allegedly involves a controlled disintegration of the Slovene intelligence system, that is to say, the dismantling of the former State Security Service.

Leaving aside the rumors that a restructuring of the political scene is in the background, our sources claim that a positive scenario of the reconstruction of the security system, which will primarily have to assume the responsibility for protection of the Slovene strategic economic interests abroad, is nevertheless underway.

Despite the formal position of the intelligence service, Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek has supposedly remained without strategic information and analyses. As we have learned, the experts from the United States, that is to say, Clinton's state security adviser personally, have also been drawn into expert assistance in the organization of the Slovene intelligence system. Regarding all this, it would be worth mentioning the announcement of Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek that he will activate a special service within his cabinet on 15 February. This service will, despite a rather unambitious task of overcoming bureaucratic obstacles and helping the citizens, that is to say, dealing with the problems of a little man, not be able to completely avoid a sort of intelligence activities, primarily because of the avalanche of anonymous letters that supposedly report cases of unlawful privatization, theft, illicit activities in the economic domain, and, above all, corruption and other matters in the pasts of several ministers, for which they should say goodbye to public life.

According to some information, changes in the leaderships of both intelligence services should also take place in March, which would conclude the experimental phase in the appointment of directors of the intelligence services. State security systems all over the world consist of intelligence and counterintelligence segments, while the services protecting the constitutional order are, naturally, also a part of the repertoire, regardless of how conservative this sounds. The division of SOVA into intelligence and counterintelligence parts can only be confirmation of the normalization in the Slovene secret services. The most dangerous thing is a concentration of great power within the intelligence system.

Federal

France Repatriates Diplomats' Dependents

LD1602200494 Paris France-Info Radio in French 1923 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Text] The families of diplomats and staff at the French Embassy in Belgrade are to be repatriated. The decision has just been announced by the French Foreign Ministry, four days away from the expiry of the ultimatum in Bosnia.

Serbia

Churkin Sees 'Much Better' Sarajevo Situation

AU1602195494 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Feb 94

[News conference by Vitaliy Churkin, Russian deputy foreign minister, after his talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade on 16 February; all questions and answers are in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation—recorded]

[Text] [Churkin] President Milosevic and I spoke mostly about Sarajevo and other issues concerning a political solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina. I expect to see him again later today or tomorrow.

[Unidentified reporter] Are you being successful in your diplomacy?

[Churkin] I think that I am, but, to be more serious, it is too early to speak about success. We are looking at all the aspects of the situation around Sarajevo.

Having been to Sarajevo yesterday, yes, I am satisfied. The situation on the ground is much better. There is peace in the city. It is fragile but is nevertheless peace. We are doing everything that we can to make it a firmer and more lasting peace, not only in Sarajevo, but throughout Bosnia.

Extends Stay in Belgrade

LD1602172894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1647 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 16 Feb (TANJUG)—Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin, who arrived today on a suprise visit to Belgrade where he met Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, will extend his stay in the Yugoslav capital by another day, TANJUG has learned from the office of the Russian NOVOSTI news agency in Belgrade.

The same source disclosed that Churkin's latest visit to Belgrade is directly linked to the situation in Sarajevo—the NATO ultimatum—and threats that Serb positions around that city will be attacked if the artillery is not withdrawn to a distance of 20 km from Sarajevo. [passage omitted]

To Meet With Karadzic

AU1702113894 Paris AFP in English 1052 GMT 17 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 17 (AFP)—Russian special envoy Vitaliy Churkin is to have talks with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic on Thursday, the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA announced.

The meeting has been scheduled for after noon (1100 GMT) at the Bosnian Serb stronghold of Pale, east of Sarajevo.

Churkin has been on a special mission for Russian President Boris Yeltsin since Saturday to mediate in the Bosnian conflict.

He met twice with Serbia's ultranationalist President Slobodan Milosevic.

A third meeting was scheduled for later Thursday.

Opposition Party Leader on NATO Air Strikes

LD1602171194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1336 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Feb (TANJUG)—Vojislav Kostunica, chairman of the Democratic Party of Serbia [DSS], said at a news conference today that NATO's threat to the Bosnian Serbs was aimed at demonstrating NATO's unity and resolve.

Kostunica recalled that everyone had succumbed to Germany's ultimatum in 1992 and had wished to preserve the unity of the European Community and the spirit of Maastricht, which resulted in the dismemberment of the sovereign Yugoslav state.

According to him, the fact is being overlooked that the absence of resolve sometimes does not have to be such a bad thing in politics. Apart from resolve for war, he added, people should display resolve for peace, and this was lacking.

The DSS leader believes that NATO's threat was based on the naive assumption that air strikes could be carried out without a response.

Kostunica pointed to the dilemma faced by the Bosnian Serb leadership. On the one hand, he said, the Serbs are determined to do everything to avoid the attacks, but on the other they cannot leave their own people unprotected.

In his opinion, the NATO decision was linked with the Sarajevo market place event, no matter how much this was being covered up. This, Kostunica said, is a familiar three-act performance, where it all starts with a provocation—coming mostly from the Muslim side—followed by threats to the Serbs, and in the final act the Bosnian Serbs are expected to make further concessions.

Answering a reporter's question, the DSS leader stressed there was nothing that could justify Serbia's and Yugoslavia's silence over the ultimatum. Commenting on the frequent visits by foreign diplomats to Belgrade, Kostunica said that according to the [federal] Constitution, decisions on war and peace were within the jurisdiction of the assembly, that the Serbian president was not authorized to conduct such talks and that he ought to explain to the people what he was doing. Speaking about certain inconsistencies in statements by [Bosnian Serb commander] General Ratko Mladic and [Bosnian Serb president] Radovan Karadzic on the withdrawal of the artillery and its placing under UN supervision, Kostunica said he could not judge this from here [Belgrade], that he was certain there was more unanimity than discord, and stressed that politicians and soldiers spoke different languages.

Montenegro

Boka Threatens Unification With 'Serbian Lands'

AU1602143394 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 16 Feb 94 p 4

[Article by D.J.: "Boka Is Also Serbian"]

[Text] If Montenegro secedes from Serbia, the Convention of Boka is determined to start the process of unification with the other Serbian lands. This would be done first with Herzegovina and therefore with Serbia, and would provide Serbia with access to the sea. This would in fact represent the reassessment of the decision on the unification of Boka with Montenegro.

These are the first words of the Declaration of the Boka Convention, which was distributed to the media yesterday, bearing the signature of Convention chairman Slobodan Panovic. The Convention demands that the ruling party, the Democratic Party of Socialists, put a stop to separatist forces—as the declaration says—first in their own ranks.

Serbian Boka will follow and cooperate with the conventions of Vasojevici, Zeta, old [Stara] Herzegovina, and the Raska region [Sandzak] on the achievement of the Serbian national program. We demand that the Montenegrin bodies inaugurate 26 November 1918 as a public holiday, the date of the unification of Serbia and Montenegro. The Boka Convention demands a change in the attitude of the Republic of Montenegro toward this region.

Kosovo

Police, Army Misltreat 'Dozens' of Ethnic Albanians

AU1602180294 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 16 Feb 94

[Text] Reports from Prishtina confirm that recently the Serbian police and army have maltreated dozens of Albanian citizens who live in Morine near the Kosova-Albanian border area.

The Serbian police repression has also been continuing in many villages in Podujeve. In Dyze in this commune, 17 Albanian homes have been raided.